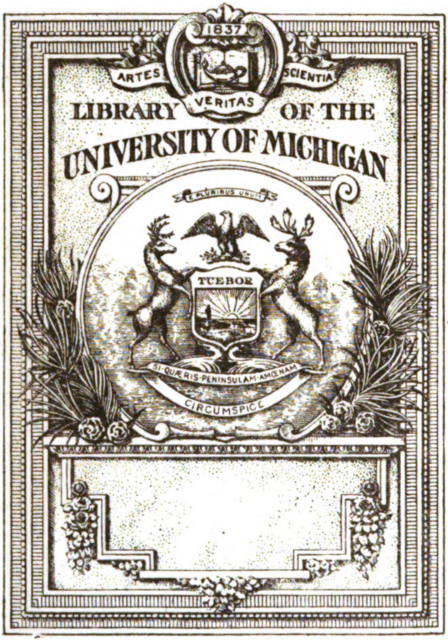

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PROCOPIUS

II

PROCOPIUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
H. B. DEWING

IN SIX VOLUMES
II

HISTORY OF THE WARS, BOOKS III AND IV

LONDON : WILLIAM HEINEMANN
NEW YORK : G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
MCMXVI

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ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΡΙΤΟΣ

I

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Μηδικὸς πόλεμος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα· ἐγὼ δὲ ὅσα ἔς τε Βανδίλους καὶ Μαυρουσίους αὐτῷ εἴργασται φράσων ἔρχομαι. λελέξεται δὲ πρῶτον ὅθεν ὁ Βανδίλων
2 στρατὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέσκηψε χώρᾳ. ἐπειδὴ Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτωρ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο, ἀνὴρ δίκαιος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα γεγονὼς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια, διεδεξάσθην αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἄμφω τὼ παῖδε, Ἀρκάδιος μὲν ὁ πρεσβύτερος τὴν ἑῴαν μοῖραν, τὴν ἑσπερίαν δὲ Ὁνώ-
3 ριος ὁ νεώτερος. διῄρητο δὲ ὧδε τὸ Ῥωμαίων κράτος ἄνωθεν ἀπό τε Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων, ὃς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταθέμενος μείζω τε τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολλῷ ἐπιφανεστέραν καταστησάμενος ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀφῆκε προσαγορεύεσθαι.

4 Περιλαμβάνει μὲν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν ὠκεανὸς ἢ ξύμπασαν ἢ τὴν πολλήν· οὐ γάρ πω σαφές τι ἀμφ' αὐτῷ ἴσμεν· σχίζει δὲ αὐτὴν δίχα ἐς ἠπεί-

PROCOPIUS OF CAESAREA

HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK III

THE VANDALIC WAR

I

Such, then, was the final outcome of the Persian War for the Emperor Justinian; and I shall now proceed to set forth all that he did against the Vandals and the Moors. But first shall be told whence came the host of the Vandals when they descended upon the land of the Romans. After Theodosius, the Roman Emperor, had departed from the world, having proved himself one of the most just of men and an able warrior, his kingdom was taken over by his two sons, Arcadius, the elder, receiving the Eastern portion, and Honorius, the younger, the Western. But the Roman power had been thus divided as far back as the time of Constantine and his sons; for he transferred his government to Byzantium, and making the city larger and much more renowned, allowed it to be named after him. Jan. 17, 395 A.D.

Now the earth is surrounded by a circle of ocean, either entirely or for the most part (for our knowledge is not as yet at all clear in this matter); and it

ρους δύο ἐκροή τις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέριον
εἰσβάλλουσα μοῖραν καὶ ταύτην δὴ ποιουμένη
τὴν θάλασσαν, ἀπὸ Γαδείρων μὲν ἀρξαμένη,[1] ἐς
5 αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Μαιῶτιν διήκουσα[1] λίμνην. ταύ-
ταιν ταῖν ἠπείροιν ἀτέρα μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλέοντι
τὴν θάλασσαν μέχρι καὶ ἐς τὴν λίμνην Ἀσία
κέκληται, ἀπό τε Γαδείρων καὶ τῆς ἑτέρας τῶν
6 Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν. Σέπτον καλοῦσι τὸ ἐκείνῃ
φρούριον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, λόφων τινῶν ἑπτὰ φαινο-
μένων ἐνταῦθα· τὸ γὰρ σέπτον ἑπτὰ[2] τῇ Λατίνων
7 φωνῇ δύναται. ἡ δὲ ἀντιπέρας αὐτῇ ξύμπασα
Εὐρώπη ἐκλήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτῃ πορθμὸς τέτ-
ταρσι καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίοις μάλιστα ἤπειρον
ἑκατέραν διείργει, τὸ δὲ ἐντεῦθεν πελάγεσι μεγά-
λοις ἀλλήλαιν διέχετον μέχρις Ἑλλησπόντου.
8 ταύτῃ γὰρ ξυνίασιν αὖθις ἀμφὶ Σηστόν τε καὶ
Ἄβυδον, καὶ πάλιν ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Καλχη-
δόνι μέχρι τῶν πάλαι Κυανέων λεγομένων πετρῶν,
οὗ καὶ νῦν Ἱερὸν ὀνομάζεται. ἐν τούτοις γὰρ δὴ
τοῖς χωρίοις μέτρῳ δέκα σταδίων τε καὶ τούτου
ἐλάσσονι διείργεσθον ἀλλήλαιν.
9 Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν
μέχρι ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν διὰ τῆς ἠιόνος ἰόντι καὶ
οὐ περιερχομένῳ κόλπον τε τὸν Ἰόνιον καὶ τὸν
Εὔξεινον καλούμενον Πόντον, ἀλλ' ἔκ τε Καλχη-
δόνος[3] ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔκ τε Δρυοῦντος[4] ἐς ἤπειρον

[1] ἀρξαμένη—διήκουσα: Christ prefers the accusative.
[2] ἑπτά P: ἕβδομον V.
[3] Καλχηδόνος Maltretus: χαρκηδόνος MSS., Καρχηδόνος Hoeschel in marg. [4] δρυοῦντος MSS.: Ὑδροῦντος edd.

is split into two continents by a sort of outflow from the ocean, a flow which enters at the western part and forms this Sea which we know, beginning at Gadira [1] and extending all the way to the Maeotic Lake.[2] Of these two continents the one to the right, as one sails into the Sea, as far as the Lake, has received the name of Asia, beginning at Gadira and at the southern[3] of the two Pillars of Heracles. Septem[4] is the name given by the natives to the fort at that point, since seven hills appear there; for "septem" has the force of "seven" in the Latin tongue. And the whole continent opposite this was named Europe. And the strait at that point separates the two continents[5] by about eighty-four stades, but from there on they are kept apart by wide expanses of sea as far as the Hellespont. For at this point they again approach each other at Sestus and Abydus, and once more at Byzantium and Chalcedon as far as the rocks called in ancient times the "Dark Blue Rocks," where even now is the place called Hieron. For at these places the continents are separated from one another by a distance of only ten stades and even less than that.

Now the distance from one of the Pillars of Heracles to the other, if one goes along the shore and does not pass around the Ionian Gulf and the sea called the Euxine but crosses from Chalcedon[6] to Byzantium and from Dryous[7] to the opposite main-

[1] Cadiz. [2] Sea of Azov. [3] Abila. [4] Or Septem Fratres.

[5] Most ancient geographers divided the inhabited world into three continents, but some made two divisions. It was a debated question with these latter whether Africa belonged to Asia or to Europe; cf. Sallust, *Jugurtha*, 17.

[6] Kadi Keui.

[7] More correctly Hydrous, Lat. Hydruntum (Otranto).

τὴν ἀντιπέρας καταίροντι, πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρί.
10 τὰ γὰρ ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον, ὃς ἐκ Βυζαντίου χωρεῖ εἰς τὴν λίμνην, ἅπαντα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι ἀμήχανα ἦν, βαρβάρων τῶν ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον, ὃν καὶ Δανούβιον καλοῦσι, Ῥωμαίοις βατὴν ἥκιστα ποιουμένων τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἀκτήν, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐκ Βυζαντίου μὲν ἐς τὰς τοῦ Ἴστρου ἐκβολὰς ἡμερῶν ἐστιν ὁδὸς δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἅσπερ τῇ
11 Εὐρώπῃ λογιζομένους ἐντιθέναι προσήκει. κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς Ἀσίας μοῖραν, εἴη δ' ἂν ἐκ Καλχηδόνος ἐς ποταμὸν Φᾶσιν, ὃς ῥέων ἐκ Κόλχων κάτεισιν ἐς τὸν Πόντον, ἀνύεται τεσσαράκοντα
12 ὁδὸς ἡμερῶν. ὥστε ξύμπασα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐπικράτεια κατά γε τὴν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ ὁδὸν ἐς ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τριακοσίων ἡμερῶν ξύνεισι μέτρον, ἤν τις, ὅπερ εἴρηται, τὸν Ἰόνιον κόλπον ἐς ὀκτακοσίους μάλιστα διήκοντα σταδίους ἐκ
13 Δρυοῦντος[1] διαπορθμεύηται. ἡ γὰρ τοῦ κόλπου πάροδος[2] ἐς ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν διήκει οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ τεσσάρων. τοσαύτη μὲν ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴ κατά γε τὸν παλαιὸν ἐγένετο χρόνον.
14 Ἐπέβαλλε δὲ τῷ μὲν τὸ τῆς ἑσπερίας ἔχοντι κράτος Λιβύης τὰ πλεῖστα διήκοντα ἐς ἐνενήκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν· τοσοῦτον γὰρ τὸ ἐκ Γαδείρων ἐς τὰ ὅρια τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ Τριπόλεώς ἐστιν· ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν
15 ἔλαχε· τοσαύτη γὰρ ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας τῶν Ἡρα-

[1] *Δρυοῦντος* MSS.: *Ὑδροῦντος* Maltretus, Dindorf. In P scholion *δρυοὺς ἐστὶ τὸ νῦν βαρβαρικῶς λεγόμενον ὄτροντον* (Otranto), *ἤπειρος δὲ ὁ νῦν αὐλών* (Avlona).

[2] *πάροδος* Maltretus: *περίοδος* MSS., Haury suggests *περαίωσις.*

land,[1] is a journey of two hundred and eighty-five days for an unencumbered traveller. For as to the land about the Euxine Sea, which extends from Byzantium to the Lake, it would be impossible to tell everything with precision, since the barbarians beyond the Ister River, which they also call the Danube, make the shore of that sea quite impossible for the Romans to traverse—except, indeed, that from Byzantium to the mouth of the Ister is a journey of twenty-two days, which should be added to the measure of Europe by one making the computation. And on the Asiatic side, that is from Chalcedon to the Phasis River, which, flowing from the country of the Colchians, descends into the Pontus, the journey is accomplished in forty days. So that the whole Roman domain, according to the distance along the sea at least, attains the measure of a three hundred and forty-seven days' journey, if, as has been said, one ferries over the Ionian Gulf, which extends about eight hundred stades from Dryous. For the passage across the gulf[2] amounts to a journey of not less than four days. Such, then, was the size of the Roman empire in the ancient times.

And there fell to him who held the power in the West the most of Libya, extending ninety days' journey—for such is the distance from Gadira to the boundaries of Tripolis in Libya; and in Europe he received as his portion territory extending seventy-five days' journey—for such is the distance from the

[1] At Aulon (Avlona).

[2] Adding these four days to the other items (285, 22, 40), the total is 351 days.

κλεους στηλῶν ἐς κόλπον τὸν Ἰόνιον τυγχάνει οὖσα. προσθείη δὲ ἄν τις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόλπου
16 περίοδον. βασιλεὺς δὲ ὁ τῆς ἕω ἡμερῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν ὁδὸν ἐκληρώσατο ἐκ τῶν Κυρήνης ὁρίων τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ μέχρι Ἐπιδάμνου, ἣ πρὸς αὐτῷ κεῖται τῷ Ἰονίῳ κόλπῳ, Δυρράχιον τανῦν καλουμένη, καὶ ὅση ἀμφὶ τὸν Εὔξεινον Πόντον, ὡς
17 ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίοις ἐστί. μιᾶς δὲ ἡμέρας ὁδὸς[1] ἐς δέκα καὶ διακοσίους διήκει σταδίους, ὅσον Ἀθήνηθεν Μέγαράδε ἰέναι. οὕτω μὲν ἤπειρον ἑκατέραν οἱ Ῥωμαίων αὐτοκράτορες
18 διείλοντο σφίσι. τῶν δὲ δὴ νήσων Βρεττανία μέν, ἡ ἐκτὸς στηλῶν τῶν Ἡρακλείων νήσων πασῶν μεγίστη παρὰ πολὺ οὖσα, μετὰ τῆς ἑσπερίας, ὥς γε τὸ εἰκός, ἐτάττετο μοίρας· ἐντὸς δὲ αὐτῶν Ἔβουσα, ὥσπερ ἐν Προποντίδι τῇ μετὰ τὴν[2] ὠκεανοῦ ἐσβολὴν ἐν θαλάσσῃ κειμένη, ἐς ἑπτὰ ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μάλιστα διήκουσα, καὶ δύο ἀμφ' αὐτὴν ἕτεραι,[3] Μαϊορίκα τε καὶ Μινορίκα
19 ἐπιχωρίως καλούμεναι. τῶν δὲ κατὰ θάλασσαν νήσων ἑκάστη θατέρῳ τοῖν βασιλέοιν ἐπέβαλεν, ὡς αὐτῇ ἐντός που τῶν ἐκείνου ὁρίων ξυνέβαινε κεῖσθαι.

II

Ὀνωρίου δὲ τὴν πρὸς ἡλίου δυσμαῖς ἔχοντος βασιλείαν βάρβαροι τὴν ἐκείνου κατέλαβον χώραν· οἵτινες δὲ καὶ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ, λελέξεται.
2 Γοτθικὰ ἔθνη πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα πρότερόν τε

[1] ὁδὸς P corr.: ὁδῶ V and P.
[2] τὴν P: τοῦ V. [3] ἕτεραι P: ἑταῖραι V.

northern[1] of the Pillars of Heracles to the Ionian Gulf.[2] And one might add also the distance around the gulf. And the emperor of the East received territory extending one hundred and twenty days' journey, from the boundaries of Cyrene in Libya as far as Epidamnus, which lies on the Ionian Gulf and is called at the present time Dyrrachium, as well as that portion of the country about the Euxine Sea which, as previously stated, is subject to the Romans. Now one day's journey extends two hundred and ten stades,[3] or as far as from Athens to Megara. Thus, then, the Roman emperors divided either continent between them. And among the islands Britain, which is outside the Pillars of Heracles and by far the largest of all islands, was counted, as is natural, with the West; and inside the Pillars, Ebusa,[4] which lies in the Mediterranean in what we may call the Propontis, just inside the opening where the ocean enters, about seven days' journey from the opening, and two others near it, Majorica and Minorica, as they are called by the natives, were also assigned to the Western empire. And each of the islands in the Sea itself fell to the share of that one of the two emperors within whose boundaries it happened to lie.

II

Now while Honorius was holding the imperial power 395–423 A.D.
in the West, barbarians took possession of his land; and I shall tell who they were and in what manner they did so. There were many Gothic nations in

[1] Calpe (Gibraltar).

[2] *i.e.*, instead of stopping at Otranto, one might also reckon in the coast-line around the Adriatic to Dyrrachium.

[3] About twenty-four English miles. [4] Iviza.

ἣν καὶ τανῦν ἔστι, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάντων μέγιστά τε
καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα Γότθοι τέ εἰσι καὶ Βανδίλοι
καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι καὶ Γήπαιδες. πάλαι μέντοι
Σαυρομάται καὶ Μελάγχλαινοι ὠνομάζοντο· εἰσὶ
3 δὲ οἳ καὶ Γετικὰ ἔθνη ταῦτ' ἐκάλουν. οὗτοι
ἅπαντες ὀνόμασι μὲν ἀλλήλων διαφέρουσιν,
ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἄλλῳ δὲ τῶν πάντων οὐδενὶ διαλ-
4 λάσσουσι. λευκοί τε γὰρ ἅπαντες τὰ σώματά
εἰσι καὶ τὰς κόμας ξανθοί, εὐμήκεις τε καὶ ἀγαθοὶ
τὰς ὄψεις, καὶ νόμοις μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς χρῶνται,
5 ὁμοίως δὲ τὰ ἐς τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ἤσκηται. τῆς
γὰρ Ἀρείου δόξης εἰσὶν ἅπαντες, φωνή τε αὐτοῖς
ἔστι μία, Γοτθικὴ λεγομένη· καί μοι δοκοῦν[1] ἐξ
ἑνὸς μὲν εἶναι ἅπαντες τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθνους, ὀνόμασι
δὲ ὕστερον τῶν ἑκάστοις ἡγησαμένων διακεκρί-
6 σθαι. οὗτος ὁ λεὼς ὑπὲρ ποταμὸν Ἴστρον ἐκ
παλαιοῦ ᾤκουν. ἔπειτα Γήπαιδες μὲν τὰ ἀμφὶ
Σιγγιδόνον[2] τε καὶ Σίρμιον χωρία ἔσχον, ἐντός τε
καὶ ἐκτὸς ποταμοῦ Ἴστρου, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ
ἵδρυνται.
7 Τῶν δὲ δὴ ἄλλων Οὐισίγοτθοι μὲν ἐνθένδε
ἀναστάντες τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐς ξυμμαχίαν Ἀρκαδίου
βασιλέως ἀφίκοντο, χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον (οὐ γὰρ
οἶδε[3] βαρβάροις ἐνδιαιτᾶσθαι ἡ ἐς Ῥωμαίους
πίστις), ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Ἀλαρίχου, ἐς ἐπι-
βουλὴν ἑκατέρου βασιλέως ἐτράποντο, ἐκ Θρᾴκης
τε ἀρξάμενοι ξυμπάσῃ Εὐρώπῃ ὡς πολεμίᾳ ἐχρή-
8 σαντο. βασιλεὺς δὲ Ὁνώριος πρότερον μὲν ἐν
Ῥώμῃ καθῆστο, οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ πολέμιον ἐν νῷ

[1] δοκοῦν MSS.: δοκοῦσιν or δοκοῦντες Dindorf.
[2] Σιγγιδόνον Haury: σινγηδὸν V, σιγγηδόνα P.
[3] οἶδε P: οὐδὲ V, P in marg.

earlier times, just as also at the present, but the greatest and most important of all are the Goths, Vandals, Visigoths, and Gepaedes. In ancient times, however, they were named Sauromatae and Melanchlaeni;[1] and there were some too who called these nations Getic. All these, while they are distinguished from one another by their names, as has been said, do not differ in anything else at all. For they all have white bodies and fair hair, and are tall and handsome to look upon, and they use the same laws and practise a common religion. For they are all of the Arian faith, and have one language called Gothic; and, as it seems to me, they all came originally from one tribe, and were distinguished later by the names of those who led each group. This people used to dwell above the Ister River from of old. Later on the Gepaedes got possession of the country about Singidunum[2] and Sirmium,[3] on both sides of the Ister River, where they have remained settled even down to my time.

But the Visigoths, separating from the others, removed from there and at first entered into an alliance with the Emperor Arcadius, but at a later time (for faith with the Romans cannot dwell in barbarians), under the leadership of Alaric, they became hostile to both emperors, and, beginning with Thrace, treated all Europe as an enemy's land. Now the Emperor Honorius had before this time been sitting in Rome, with never a thought of war

[1] "Black-cloaks." [2] Belgrade. [3] Mitrovitz.

τε γεγονέναι καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀρετῆς μετα-
ποιεῖσθαι ἠπίστατο, ἔφασκε μὲν αὐτοῖς κρύφα
ὡς σφίσι τῶν ἐν Ῥώμῃ πατρικίων τινάς, ἅτε
δούλοις οὖσι δῆθεν τῷ λόγῳ, δωρήσεσθαι μέλλοι.
16 παρήγγελλε δὲ ὥστε, ἐπειδὰν ἐν ταῖς ἐκείνων
οἰκίαις τάχιστα γένωνται, πρᾳότητα πολλὴν καὶ
σωφροσύνην ἐνδεικνυμένους ἅπαντα προθύμως
ὑπηρετεῖν, ἅπερ ἂν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τῶν κεκτημένων
17 ἐπικείμενα ᾖ· ἔπειτα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ ἐν
ἡμέρᾳ τακτῇ ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μάλιστα μέσην, ἁπάν-
των ἤδη τῶν αὐτοὺς ληψομένων ὕπνον, ὡς τὸ
εἰκός, μετὰ τὰ σιτία αἱρουμένων, ἐν πύλῃ ἅπαντας
τῇ Σαλαρίᾳ καλουμένῃ γενέσθαι, καὶ τούς τε
φύλακας οὐδὲν προαισθομένους ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς
κτεῖναι τάς τε πύλας ἀνοιγνύναι ὡς τάχιστα.
18 ταῦτα ἐπαγγείλας Ἀλάριχος τοῖς νεανίαις,
πρέσβεις αὐτίκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ βουλῆς ἔπεμψε,
δηλῶν ὅτι ἀγασθείη μὲν αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐς τὸν σφῶν
βασιλέα εὐνοίας, οὐκέτι δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνοχλήσει,
τῆς τε ἀρετῆς καὶ πίστεως ἕνεκα, ἧς ἐς ἄγαν
μεταποιεῖσθαί εἰσιν ἔνδηλοι, ὅπως τε αὐτοῦ
μνημεῖα παρ' ἀνδράσι καλοῖς τε καὶ ἀγαθοῖς
σώζοιτο, οἰκέταις τισὶ δωρεῖσθαι βούλοιτο αὐτῶν
19 ἕκαστον. ταῦτα σημήνας καὶ τοὺς νεανίας οὐκ ἐς
μακρὰν στείλας, συσκευάζεσθαι ἐς τὴν ἄφοδον[1]
τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐκέλευε, τούτου τε αἴσθησιν
20 Ῥωμαίοις παρεῖχεν. οἳ δὴ τούς τε λόγους
ἄσμενοι ἤκουσαν καὶ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενοι ἐν πολλῇ
εὐπαθείᾳ ἐγένοντο, ἑκαστάτω τῆς τοῦ βαρβάρου
21 ἐπιβουλῆς ὄντες. οἵ τε γὰρ νέοι τῷ εὐπει-
θέστεροι τοῖς κεκτημένοις εἶναι τὸ ὕποπτον

[1] ἄφοδον Maltretus: ἔφοδον MS.

knew to be of good birth and possessed of valour beyond their years, and told them secretly that he was about to make a present of them to certain of the patricians in Rome, pretending that they were slaves. And he instructed them that, as soon as they got inside the houses of those men, they should display much gentleness and moderation and serve them eagerly in whatever tasks should be laid upon them by their owners; and he further directed them that not long afterwards, on an appointed day at about midday, when all those who were to be their masters would most likely be already asleep after their meal, they should all come to the gate called Salarian and with a sudden rush kill the guards, who would have no previous knowledge of the plot, and open the gates as quickly as possible. After giving these orders to the youths, Alaric straightway sent ambassadors to the members of the senate, stating that he admired them for their loyalty toward their emperor, and that he would trouble them no longer, because of their valour and faithfulness, with which it was plain that they were endowed to a remarkable degree, and in order that tokens of himself might be preserved among men both noble and brave, he wished to present each one of them with some domestics. After making this declaration and sending the youths not long afterwards, he commanded the barbarians to make preparations for the departure, and he let this be known to the Romans. And they heard his words gladly, and receiving the gifts began to be exceedingly happy, since they were completely ignorant of the plot of the barbarian. For the youths, by being unusually obedient to their owners, averted suspicion, and in

ἀπεκρούοντο, τοῦ τε στρατοπέδου οἱ μὲν ἤδη
ἐξανιστάμενοί τε καὶ διαλύοντες τὴν προσεδρείαν
ἐφαίνοντο, οἱ δὲ ὅσον οὔπω ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσειν
22 ἐπίδοξοι ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ κυρία παρῆν, Ἀλάριχος
μὲν ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα ὡς ἐς τὴν
ἔφοδον[1] ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχεν ἄγχιστα πύλης τῆς
Σαλαρίας· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐνστρατοπεδευσάμενος
23 τῆς πολιορκίας κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔτυχε. ξύμπαντες
δὲ οἱ νεανίαι καιρῷ τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ
ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν πύλην γενόμενοι τούς τε φύλακας
ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ἐπελθόντες ἀπέκτειναν,[2] τάς
τε πύλας ἀνακλίναντες κατ' ἐξουσίαν Ἀλάριχόν
24 τε καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν τῇ πόλει ἐδέξαντο. οἱ δὲ
τάς τε οἰκίας ἐνέπρησαν αἳ τῆς πύλης ἄγχιστα
ἦσαν, ἐν αἷς ἦν καὶ ἡ Σαλουστίου, τοῦ Ῥωμαίοις
τὸ παλαιὸν τὴν ἱστορίαν γράψαντος, ἧς δὴ τὰ
πλεῖστα ἡμίκαυτα καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἕστηκε· τήν τε
πόλιν ὅλην ληισάμενοι καὶ Ῥωμαίων τοὺς
25 πλείστους διαφθείραντες πρόσω ἐχώρουν. τότε
λέγουσιν ἐν Ῥαβέννῃ Ὁνωρίῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν
τινα εὐνούχων δηλονότι ὀρνιθοκόμον ἀγγεῖλαι
ὅτι δὴ Ῥώμη ἀπόλωλε. καὶ τὸν ἀναβοήσαντα
φάναι "Καίτοι ἔναγχος ἐδήδοκεν ἐκ χειρῶν τῶν
26 ἐμῶν." εἶναι γάρ οἱ ἀλεκτρυόνα ὑπερμεγέθη,
Ῥώμην ὄνομα· καὶ τὸν μὲν εὐνοῦχον ξυνέντα τοῦ
λόγου εἰπεῖν Ῥώμην τὴν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀλαρίχου
ἀπολωλέναι, ἀνενεγκόντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ὑπο-
λαβεῖν "Ἀλλ' ἔγωγε, ὦ ἑταῖρε, Ῥώμην μοι
ἀπολωλέναι τὴν ὄρνιν ᾠήθην." τοσαύτῃ ἀμαθίᾳ
τὸν βασιλέα τοῦτον ἔχεσθαι λέγουσι.

[1] ἔφοδον MS. : ἄφοδον Braun.
[2] ἀπέκτειναν Hoeschel : ἀπέκτειναν P, ἅπαντ' ἔκτειναν P corr.

the camp some were already seen moving from their positions and raising the siege, while it seemed that the others were just on the point of doing the very same thing. But when the appointed day had come, Alaric armed his whole force for the attack and was holding them in readiness close by the Salarian Gate; for it happened that he had encamped there at the beginning of the siege. And all the youths at the time of the day agreed upon came to this gate, and, assailing the guards suddenly, put them to death; then they opened the gates and received Alaric and the army into the city at their leisure. And they set fire to the houses which were next to the gate, among which was also the house of Sallust, who in ancient times wrote the history of the Romans, and the greater part of this house has stood half-burned up to my time; and after plundering the whole city and destroying the most of the Romans, they moved on. At that time they say that the Emperor Honorius in Ravenna received the message from one of the eunuchs, evidently a keeper of the poultry, that Rome had perished. And he cried out and said, "And yet it has just eaten from my hands!" For he had a very large cock, Rome by name; and the eunuch comprehending his words said that it was the city of Rome which had perished at the hands of Alaric, and the emperor with a sigh of relief answered quickly: "But I, my good fellow, thought that my fowl Rome had perished." So great, they say, was the folly with which this emperor was possessed.

Aug. 24, 410 A.D.

27 Τινὲς δὲ οὐχ οὕτω Ῥώμην Ἀλαρίχῳ ἁλῶναί φασιν, ἀλλὰ Πρόβην γυναῖκα, πλούτῳ τε καὶ δόξῃ ἔν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων βουλῇ ἐπιφανεστάτην μάλιστα οὖσαν, οἰκτεῖραι μὲν λιμῷ τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ κακοπαθείᾳ διαφθειρομένους Ῥωμαίους, οἵ γε καὶ ἀλλήλων ἤδη ἐγεύοντο· ὁρῶσαν δὲ ὡς πᾶσα αὐτοὺς ἐλπὶς ἀγαθὴ ἐπιλελοίπει, τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τοῦ λιμένος ἐχομένου πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐγκελεύσασθαι νύκτωρ ἀνοιγνύναι τὰς πύλας.

28 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ Ἀλάριχος ἐκ Ῥώμης ἐξανίστασθαι ἔμελλεν, Ἄτταλον τῶν τινα εὐπατριδῶν βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων ἀνεῖπε, περιθέμενος[1] αὐτῷ τό τε διάδημα καὶ τὴν ἁλουργίδα καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς βασιλικὸν ἀξίωμα ἥκει. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα ὡς παραλύσων μὲν τῆς βασιλείας Ὁνώριον, παραδώσων δὲ ἅπαν Ἀττάλῳ τὸ ἑσπέριον κράτος.
29 τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ Ἄτταλός τε καὶ Ἀλάριχος ἐπὶ Ῥάβενναν στρατῷ πολλῷ ᾔεσαν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Ἄτταλος οὗτος οὔτε αὐτός τι νοεῖν ἱκανὸς οὔτε
30 τῷ εὖ εἰπόντι πεισθῆναι. Ἀλαρίχου γοῦν ἥκιστα ἐπαινοῦντος ἐς Λιβύην στρατιᾶς χωρὶς ἄρχοντας ἔπεμψε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐπράσσετο τῇδε.

31 Βρεττανία δὲ ἡ νῆσος Ῥωμαίων ἀπέστη, οἵ τε ἐκείνῃ στρατιῶται βασιλέα σφίσι Κωνσταντῖνον εἵλοντο, οὐκ ἀφανῆ ἄνδρα. ὃς δὴ αὐτίκα στόλον τε ἀγείρας νηῶν καὶ στρατιὰν λόγου ἀξίαν ἐς Ἱσπανίαν τε καὶ Γαλλίαν ὡς δουλωσόμενος
32 στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐσέβαλεν. Ὁνώριος δὲ πλοῖα μὲν[2] ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε, προσεδέχετο δὲ τὰς ἐκ

[1] περιθέμενος P: παραθέμενος V.
[2] δὲ πλοῖα μὲν P: μὲν πλοῖα V.

But some say that Rome was not captured in this way by Alaric, but that Proba, a woman of very unusual eminence in wealth and in fame among the Roman senatorial class, felt pity for the Romans who were being destroyed by hunger and the other suffering they endured; for they were already even tasting each other's flesh; and seeing that every good hope had left them, since both the river and the harbour were held by the enemy, she commanded her domestics, they say, to open the gates by night.

Now when Alaric was about to depart from Rome, he declared Attalus, one of their nobles, emperor of the Romans, investing him with the diadem and the purple and whatever else pertains to the imperial dignity. And he did this with the intention of removing Honorius from his throne and of giving over the whole power in the West to Attalus. With such a purpose, then, both Attalus and Alaric were going with a great army against Ravenna. But this Attalus was neither able to think wisely himself, nor to be persuaded by one who had wisdom to offer. So while Alaric did not by any means approve the plan, Attalus sent commanders to Libya without an army. Thus, then, were these things going on.

And the island of Britain revolted from the Romans, and the soldiers there chose as their king Constan- 407 A.D. tinus, a man of no mean station. And he straightway gathered a fleet of ships and a formidable army and invaded both Spain and Gaul with a great force, thinking to enslave these countries. But Honorius was holding ships in readiness and waiting to see what

Λιβύης τύχας, ὅπως, ἢν μὲν ἀποκρουσθεῖεν οἱ παρὰ Ἀττάλου σταλέντες, πλέοι τε αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Λιβύης καὶ μοῖράν τινα τῆς βασιλείας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἔχοι, ἢν δὲ ἀπ᾽ ἐναντίας αὐτῷ τὰ ἐκείνῃ πράγματα ἴοι, ἐς Θεοδόσιόν τε ἵκοιτο καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ εἴη.
33 Ἀρκαδίου γὰρ ἤδη πολλῷ πρότερον τελευτήσαντος, Θεοδόσιος ἐκείνου υἱός, ἔτι παῖς ὢν
34 κομιδῆ, εἶχε τῆς ἕω[1] ἀρχήν. ταῦτα Ὁνωρίῳ καραδοκοῦντι καὶ ἐν τρικυμίαις φερομένῳ τῆς τύχης εὐτυχήματα θαυμάσια ἡλίκα ξυνηνέχθη
35 γενέσθαι. φιλεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τοῖς οὔτε ἀγχίνοις οὔτε τι οἴκοθεν μηχανᾶσθαι οἵοις τε οὖσιν, ἢν μὴ πονηροὶ εἶεν, ἀπορουμένοις τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπικουρεῖν τε καὶ ξυλλαμβάνεσθαι· ὁποῖον δή τι
36 καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ τετύχηκεν. ἔκ τε γὰρ Λιβύης ὡς διαφθαρεῖεν οἱ Ἀττάλου ἄρχοντες ἄφνω ἠγγέλλετο, καὶ νηῶν πλῆθος ἐκ Βυζαντίου στρατιώτας ἔχουσαι ὅτι πλείστους ἐς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῷ ἀφικομένους οὐ προσδεχομένῳ παρῆσαν, διάφορός τε Ἀττάλῳ γεγονὼς Ἀλάριχος τό τε τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται σχῆμα καὶ ἐν ἰδιώτου ἤδη τελοῦντα μοίρᾳ ἐν φυλακῇ εἶχε.
37 μετὰ δὲ Ἀλάριχος μὲν τελευτᾷ νόσῳ, ὁ δὲ τῶν Οὐισιγότθων στρατός, ἡγουμένου σφίσιν Ἀδαούλφου, ἐπὶ Γαλλίας ἐχώρησαν, καὶ Κωνσταντῖνος μάχῃ ἡσσηθεὶς ξὺν τοῖς παισὶ θνήσκει.
38 Βρεττανίαν μέντοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἀνασώσασθαι οὐκέτι ἔσχον, ἀλλ᾽ οὖσα ὑπὸ τυράννοις ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε.
39 Γότθοι δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἴστρου διάβασιν ποιησάμενοι Παννονίαν μὲν τὰ πρῶτα ἔσχον, ἔπειτα δὲ βασιλέως δόντος ᾤκησαν τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θρᾴκης

[1] τῆς ἕω V : τὴν ἑώαν P.

would happen in Libya, in order that, if those sent by Attalus were repulsed, he might himself sail for Libya and keep some portion of his own kingdom, while if matters there should go against him, he might reach Theodosius and remain with him. For Arcadius had already died long before, and his son Theodosius, still a very young child,[1] held the power of the East. But while Honorius was thus anxiously awaiting the outcome of these events and tossed amid the billows of uncertain fortune, it so chanced that some wonderful pieces of good fortune befell him. For God is accustomed to succour those who are neither clever nor able to devise anything of themselves, and to lend them assistance, if they be not wicked, when they are in the last extremity of despair; such a thing, indeed, befell this emperor. For it was suddenly reported from Libya that the commanders of Attalus had been destroyed, and that a host of ships was at hand from Byzantium with a very great number of soldiers who had come to assist him, though he had not expected them, and that Alaric, having quarrelled with Attalus, had stripped him of the emperor's garb and was now keeping him under guard in the position of a private citizen. And afterwards Alaric died of disease, and the army of the Visigoths under the leadership of Adaulphus proceeded into Gaul, and Constantinus, defeated in battle, died with his sons. However the Romans never succeeded in recovering Britain, but it remained from that time on under tyrants. And the Goths, after making the crossing of the Ister, at first occupied Pannonia, but afterwards, since the emperor gave them the right, they inhabited the country of

408–450 A.D.

411 A.D.

[1] He ascended the throne at the age of seven.

40 χωρία. ἐνταῦθά τε οὐ πολὺν διατρίψαντες
χρόνον τῆς ἑσπερίας ἐκράτησαν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
μὲν ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν Γότθων εἰρήσεται.

III

Βανδίλοι δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν ᾠκημένοι λίμνην,
ἐπειδὴ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο, ἐς Γερμανούς τε, οἳ νῦν
Φράγγοι καλοῦνται, καὶ ποταμὸν Ῥῆνον ἐχώρουν,
2 Ἀλανοὺς ἑταιρισάμενοι, Γοτθικὸν ἔθνος. εἶτα
ἐνθένδε, ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Γωδιγίσκλου, ἐν Ἱσ-
πανίᾳ ἱδρύσαντο, ἣ πρώτη ἐστὶν ἐξ ὠκεανοῦ χώρα
τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. τότε ξυμβαίνει Γωδιγίσκλῳ
Ὀνώριος ἐφ᾽ ᾧ δὴ οὐκ ἐπὶ λύμῃ τῆς χώρας
3 ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσονται. νόμου δὲ ὄντος Ῥωμαίοις,
ἤν τινες οὐχ ὑπὸ ταῖς οἰκείαις χερσὶ τὰ σφέτερα
αὐτῶν ἔχοιεν καὶ τρίβοιτο χρόνος εἰς τριάκοντα
ἐνιαυτοὺς ἥκων, τούτοις δὴ[1] οὐκέτι εἶναι κυρίοις
ἐπὶ τοὺς βιασαμένους ἰέναι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐς παραγραφὴν
αὐτοῖς ἀποκεκρίσθαι τὴν ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον εἴσ-
οδον, νόμον ἔγραψεν ὅπως ὁ τῶν Βανδίλων χρόνος,
ὃν ἂν ἔν γε τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ διατρίβοιεν, ἐς
ταύτην δὴ τὴν τριακοντοῦτιν παραγραφὴν ἥκιστα
4 φέροιτο. Ὀνώριος μέν, ἐς τοῦτό οἱ τῆς ἑσπερίας
ἐληλαμένης, ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ. ἐτύγχανε δὲ πρό-
τερον ξὺν τῷ Ὀνωρίῳ τὴν βασιλείαν Κωνστάντιος

[1] δὴ Haury: δὲ MSS., Christ would delete.

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[1] That is, the actual occupant could enter a demurrer to the former owner's action for recovery, citing his own occupancy for thirty years or more. The new law extended the period during which the ousted proprietor could recover

Thrace. And after spending no great time there they conquered the West. But this will be told in the narrative concerning the Goths.

III

Now the Vandals dwelling about the Maeotic Lake, since they were pressed by hunger, moved to the country of the Germans, who are now called Franks, and the river Rhine, associating with themselves the Alani, a Gothic people. Then from there, under the leadership of Godigisclus, they moved and settled in Spain, which is the first land of the Roman empire on the side of the ocean. At that time Honorius made an agreement with Godigisclus that they should settle there on condition that it should not be to the detriment of the country. But there was a law among the Romans, that if any persons should fail to keep their property in their own possession, and if, meanwhile, a time amounting to thirty years should pass, that these persons should thenceforth not be entitled to proceed against those who had forced them out, but they were excluded by demurrer[1] from access to the court; and in view of this he established a law that whatever time should be spent by the Vandals in the Roman domain should not by any means be counted toward this thirty-year demurrer. And Honorius himself, when the West had been driven by him to this pass, died of disease. Now before this, as it happened, the royal power had been shared by Aug. 27, 423 A.D.

possession, by admitting no demurrer from the occupant so far as the years were concerned during which the Vandals should be in possession of the country.

ἔχων, τῆς Ἀρκαδίου τε καὶ Ὁνωρίου ἀδελφῆς Πλακιδίας ἀνήρ, ὃς ἡμέρας τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπιβιοὺς ὀλίγας, πονήρως τε νοσήσας εἶτα ἀπέθανεν, Ὁνωρίου ζῶντος, οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπεῖν λόγου ἄξιον οὔτε πρᾶξαι ἰσχύσας· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐπήρκει ὁ
5 χρόνος ὃν ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐβίου. τούτου δὴ τοῦ Κωνσταντίου παῖς Βαλεντινιανός, ἄρτι τοῦ τιτθοῦ ἀπαλλαγείς, ἐν τοῖς Θεοδοσίου βασιλείοις ἐτρέφετο, οἱ δὲ τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ βασιλέως αὐλῆς τῶν τινα ἐκείνῃ στρατιωτῶν, Ἰωάννην ὄνομα, βασιλέα
6 αἱροῦνται. ἦν δὲ οὗτος ἀνὴρ πρᾷός τε καὶ ξυνέσεως εὖ ἥκων καὶ ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι
7 ἐξεπιστάμενος. πέντε γοῦν ἔτη τὴν τυραννίδα ἔχων μετρίως ἐξηγήσατο, καὶ οὔτε[1] τοῖς διαβάλλουσι τὴν ἀκοὴν ὑπέσχεν[2] οὔτε[1] φόνον ἄδικον εἰργάσατο ἑκών γε εἶναι οὔτε[1] χρημάτων ἀφαιρέσει ἐπέθετο· ἐς δὲ βαρβάρους οὐδὲν ὅ τι[3] καὶ πρᾶξαι οἷός τε ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεί οἱ τὰ ἐκ Βυζαντίου
8 πολέμια ἦν. ἐπὶ τοῦτον τὸν Ἰωάννην Θεοδόσιος ὁ Ἀρκαδίου στρατὸν πολὺν πέμψας καὶ στρατηγοὺς Ἄσπαρά τε καὶ Ἀρδαβούριον, τὸν Ἄσπαρος υἱόν, αὐτόν τε ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν τυραννίδα καὶ Βαλεντινιανῷ ἔτι παιδὶ ὄντι τὴν βασιλείαν παρέ-
9 δωκε. ζῶντα δὲ Βαλεντινιανὸς Ἰωάννην λαβὼν ἔν τε τῷ Ἀκυληίας ἱπποδρομίῳ τὴν ἑτέραν ταῖν χεροῖν ἀποκοπέντα εἰσῆγεν ἐπόμπευσέ τε ὄνῳ ὀχούμενον, καὶ πολλὰ παρὰ τῶν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς ἐνταῦθα παθόντα τε καὶ ἀκούσαντα ἔκτεινεν. οὕτω μὲν Βαλεντινιανὸς τὸ τῆς ἑσπερίας παρέλαβε

[1] *οὔτε—οὔτε—οὔτε* Dindorf: *οὐδέ—οὐδέ—οὐδέ* MSS.
[2] *ὑπέσχεν* P: *ἐπέσχεν* V.
[3] *ὅ τι καί* MSS.: Haury suggests *ὅ τι καὶ λόγου ἄξιον*; cf. ch. xvi. 15.

Honorius with Constantius, the husband of Placidia, the sister of Arcadius and Honorius; but he lived to exercise the power only a few days, and then, becoming seriously ill, he died while Honorius 421 A.D. was still living, having never succeeded in saying or in doing anything worth recounting; for the time was not sufficient during which he lived in possession of the royal power. Now a son of this Constantius, Valentinian, a child just weaned, was being reared in the palace of Theodosius, but the members of the imperial court in Rome chose one of the soldiers there, John by name, as emperor. This man was both gentle and well-endowed with sagacity and thoroughly capable of valorous deeds. At any rate he held the tyranny five years [1] and directed it with moderation, and he neither gave ear to slanderers nor did he do any unjust murder, willingly at least, nor did he set his hand to robbing men of money; but he did not prove able to do anything at all against the barbarians, since his relations with Byzantium were hostile. Against this John, Theodosius, the son of Arcadius, sent a great army and Aspar and Ardaburius, the son of Aspar, as generals, and wrested from him the tyranny and gave over the royal power to Valentinian, who was still a child. And Valentinian took John alive, and he brought him out in the hippodrome of Aquileia with one of his hands cut off and caused him to ride in state on an ass, and then after he had suffered much ill treatment from the stage-performers there, both in word and in deed, he put him to death. Thus Valentinian took 426 A.D.

[1] This is an error; he really ruled only eighteen months.

10 κράτος. Πλακιδία δὲ ἡ αὐτοῦ μήτηρ θηλυνο-
μένην παιδείαν τε καὶ τροφὴν[1] τὸν βασιλέα
τοῦτον ἐξέθρεψέ τε καὶ ἐξεπαίδευσε,[2] καὶ ἀπ'
11 αὐτοῦ κακίας ἔμπλεως ἐκ παιδὸς γέγονε. φαρμα-
κεῦσί τε γὰρ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὰ ἄστρα
περιέργοις ὡμίλει, ἔς τε ἀλλοτρίων γυναικῶν
ἔρωτας δαιμονίως ἐσπουδακὼς πολλῇ ἐχρῆτο ἐς
τὴν δίαιταν παρανομίᾳ, καίπερ γυναικὶ ξυνοικῶν
12 εὐπρεπεῖ τὴν ὄψιν ἐς ἄγαν οὔσῃ. ταῦτά τοι
οὐδέ τι ἀνεσώσατο τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὧν ἀφῄρητο πρό-
τερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λιβύην προσαπώλεσε καὶ αὐτὸς
13 ἐφθάρη. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐτελεύτησε, τῇ τε γυναικὶ
ταῖς τε παισὶ δορυαλώτοις γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσε.
γέγονε δὲ ὧδε τὸ ἐν Λιβύῃ πάθος.

14 Στρατηγὼ δύο Ῥωμαίων[3] ἤστην, Ἀέτιός τε καὶ
Βονιφάτιος, καρτερώ τε ὡς[4] μάλιστα καὶ πολλῶν
πολέμων ἐμπείρω τῶν γε κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον
15 οὐδενὸς ἧσσον. τούτω τὼ ἄνδρε διαφόρω μὲν τὰ
πολιτικὰ ἐγενέσθην, ἐς τοσοῦτον δὲ μεγαλοψυχίας
τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἡκέτην ὥστε, εἴ τις
αὐτοῖν ἑκάτερον ἄνδρα Ῥωμαίων ὕστατον εἴποι,[5]
οὐκ ἂν ἁμάρτοι· οὕτω τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρετὴν ξύμ-
πασαν ἐς τούτω τὼ ἄνδρε ἀποκεκρίσθαι τετύχηκε.
16 τούτοιν τὸν ἕτερον Βονιφάτιον ἡ Πλακιδία στρα-
τηγὸν ἀπέδειξε Λιβύης ἁπάσης. τοῦτο δὲ οὐ
βουλομένῳ ἦν Ἀετίῳ, ἀλλ' ἥκιστά γε ὡς αὐτὸν
οὐκ ἀρέσκει ἐξήνεγκεν. οὔπω γὰρ αὐτοῖν ἡ ἔχθρα
ἐς φῶς ἐληλύθει, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῷ προσώπῳ[6] ἑκατέρῳ

[1] θηλυνομένην—τροφὴν V : θηλυνομένη παιδεία τε καὶ τροφὴ P pr. m. [2] ἐξεπαίδευσε V : ἐπαίδευσε P.
[3] ῥωμαίων V : ῥωμαῖοι P. [4] ὡς V : ἐς τὰ P.
[5] εἴποι P : εἴπῃ V. [6] προσώπω V : προσωπείω P.

over the power of the West. But Placidia, his mother, had reared this emperor and educated him in an altogether effeminate manner, and in consequence he was filled with wickedness from childhood. For he associated mostly with sorcerers and those who busy themselves with the stars, and, being an extraordinarily zealous pursuer of love affairs with other men's wives, he conducted himself in a most indecent manner, although he was married to a woman of exceptional beauty. And not only was this true, but he also failed to recover for the empire anything of what had been wrested from it before, and he both lost Libya in addition to the territory previously lost and was himself destroyed. And when he 455 A.D. perished, it fell to the lot of his wife and his children to become captives. Now the disaster in Libya came about as follows.

There were two Roman generals, Aetius and Boniface, especially valiant men and in experience of many wars inferior to none of that time at least. These two came to be at variance in regard to matters of state, but they attained to such a degree of high-mindedness and excellence in every respect that if one should call either of them "the last of the Romans" he would not err, so true was it that all the excellent qualities of the Romans were summed up in these two men. One of these, Boniface, was appointed by Placidia general of all Libya. Now this was not in accord with the wishes of Aetius, but he by no means disclosed the fact that it did not please him. For their hostility had not as yet come to light, but was concealed behind the countenance

17 ἐκρύπτετο. ἐπεὶ δέ οἱ[1] Βονιφάτιος ἐκποδὼν ἐγε-
γόνει, διέβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Πλακιδίαν ὡς τυραν-
νοίη, ἀποστερήσας αὐτήν τε καὶ βασιλέα Λιβύης
ἁπάσης, ῥᾴδιόν τε εἶναι αὐτῇ ἔλεγε τἀληθὲς
ἐξευρεῖν· ἢν γὰρ μεταπέμποιτο Βονιφάτιον ἐς
18 Ῥώμην, οὐ μή ποτε ἔλθῃ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν
ἡ γυνή, εὖ τέ οἱ εἰπεῖν Ἀέτιος ἔδοξε καὶ κατὰ
ταῦτα ἐποίει. προτερήσας δὲ Ἀέτιος ἔγραψε
πρὸς Βονιφάτιον λάθρα ὡς ἐπιβουλεύοι αὐτῷ ἡ
βασιλέως μήτηρ καὶ βούλοιτο αὐτὸν ἐκποδὼν
19 ποιήσασθαι. καί οἱ τεκμήριον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς
προηγόρευεν ἔσεσθαι μέγα· ἐξ αἰτίας γὰρ οὐδε-
μιᾶς αὐτίκα μάλα μετάπεμπτος ἔσται. ταῦτα
20 μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐδήλου. Βονιφάτιος δὲ οὐκ ἀλο-
γήσας τὰ γεγραμμένα, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα παρῆσαν
οἳ αὐτὸν ὡς[2] βασιλέα ἐκάλουν, ἀπεῖπε τὸ μὴ
βασιλεῖ τε καὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ μητρὶ ἐπακούειν, οὐδενὶ
21 τὴν Ἀετίου ὑποθήκην ἐκφήνας. Πλακιδία μὲν
οὖν ὡς ταῦτα ἤκουσεν, Ἀέτιόν τε τοῖς βασιλέως
πράγμασιν εὔνουν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ᾤετο εἶναι καὶ
22 τὰ ἀπὸ Βονιφατίου ἐν βουλῇ εἶχε. Βονιφάτιος
δὲ (καὶ γάρ οἱ οὔτε βασιλεῖ ἐδόκει ἀντιτάξασθαι
οἵῳ τε εἶναι ἐς Ῥώμην τε ἀπιόντι οὐδεμία σωτηρία
ἐφαίνετο) βουλεύεται ὅπως οἱ, ἢν δύνηται, ὁμαιχ-
μία ἐς τοὺς Βανδίλους ἔσται, οἳ ἐν Ἱσπανίᾳ, ὡς
πρόσθεν εἴρηται, οὐ πόρρω Λιβύης ἱδρύσαντο.
23 ἔνθα δὴ Γωδίγισκλος μὲν ἐτεθνήκει, διεδέξαντο[3]
δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν οἱ ἐκείνου παῖδες, Γόνθαρις μὲν ἐκ
γυναικὸς αὐτῷ γαμετῆς γεγονώς, Γιζέριχος δὲ

[1] οἱ V : ὁ P. [2] ὡς V : ἐς P.
[3] διεδέξαντο V : διεδεξάτην P, διεδεξάσθην Dindorf.

of each. But when Boniface had got out of the way, Aetius slandered him to Placidia, saying that he was setting up a tyranny and had robbed her and the emperor of all Libya, and he said that it was very easy for her to find out the truth; for if she should summon Boniface to Rome, he would never come. And when the woman heard this, Aetius seemed to her to speak well and she acted accordingly. But Aetius, anticipating her, wrote to Boniface secretly that the mother of the emperor was plotting against him and wished to put him out of the way. And he predicted to him that there would be convincing proof of the plot; for he would be summoned very shortly for no reason at all. Such was the announcement of the letter. And Boniface did not disregard the message, for as soon as those arrived who were summoning him to the emperor, he refused to give heed to the emperor and his mother, disclosing to no one the warning of Aetius. So when Placidia heard this, she thought that Aetius was exceedingly well-disposed towards the emperor's cause and took under consideration the question of Boniface. But Boniface, since it did not seem to him that he was able to array himself against the emperor, and since if he returned to Rome there was clearly no safety for him, began to lay plans so that, if possible, he might have a defensive alliance with the Vandals, who, as previously stated, had established themselves in Spain not far from Libya. There Godigisclus had died and the royal power had fallen to his sons, Gontharis, who was born to him from his wedded wife, and Gizeric,[1] of illegitimate birth. But the

[1] Geiseric, Gaiseric, less properly Genseric.

24 νόθος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἔτι[1] ἦν παῖς καὶ τὸ δραστ-
τήριον οὐ σφόδρα ἔχων, Γιζέριχος δὲ τά τε
πολέμια ὡς ἄριστα ἐξήσκητο καὶ δεινότατος ἦν
25 ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων. πέμψας οὖν ἐς Ἱσπανίαν
Βονιφάτιος τοὺς αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείους ἑκά-
τερον τῶν Γωδιγίσκλου παίδων ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ
ὁμοίᾳ προσεποιήσατο, ἐφ' ᾧ αὐτῶν ἕκαστον τὸ
Λιβύης τριτημόριον ἔχοντα τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν
ἄρχειν· ἢν δέ τις ἐπ' αὐτῶν τινα ἴοι πολεμήσων,
26 κοινῇ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνασθαι. ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ
ὁμολογίᾳ Βανδίλοι τὸν ἐν Γαδείροις πορθμὸν δια-
βάντες[2] ἐς Λιβύην ἀφίκοντο καὶ Οὐισίγοτθοι ἐν
27 τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐν Ἱσπανίᾳ ἱδρύσαντο. ἐν δὲ
τῇ Ῥώμῃ οἱ Βονιφατίῳ ἐπιτήδειοι, τοῦ τε τρόπου
ἐνθυμούμενοι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐκλογιζόμενοί τε
ἡλίκος ὁ παράλογος ἦν, ἐν θαύματι μεγάλῳ ἐποι-
οῦντο, εἰ Βονιφάτιος τυραννοίη, τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν
Πλακιδίας ἐπαγγελλούσης ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦλθον.
28 ἔνθα δὴ Βονιφατίῳ συγγενόμενοι τά τε Ἀετίου
γράμματα εἶδον καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἀκούσαντες
ἐς Ῥώμην τε ὡς εἶχον τάχους ἀνέστρεφον καὶ
29 ὅπως αὐτῇ Βονιφάτιος ἔχοι ἀπήγγελλον. κατα-
πλαγεῖσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Ἀέτιον μὲν εἰργάσατο οὐδὲν
ἄχαρι οὐδέ τι ὠνείδισεν ὧν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸν βασιλέως
οἶκον ἐπέπρακτο, ἐπεὶ αὐτός τε δυνάμει μεγάλῃ
ἐχρῆτο καὶ τὰ τῆς βασιλείας πράγματα πονηρὰ
ἤδη ἦν· τοῖς δὲ Βονιφατίου φίλοις τήν τε Ἀετίου
ὑποθήκην ἔφραζε καὶ πίστεις παρεχομένη καὶ
ὅρκια ἔχρῃζεν αὐτῶν ὅπως τὸν ἄνδρα, ἢν δύνων-
ται, πείσουσιν[3] ἐπανήκειν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη, οὐ

[1] ἔτι V : ἔτι τε P. [2] διαβάντες P : διαλαβόντες V.
[3] πείσουσιν V : πείσωσιν P.

former was still a child and not of very energetic temper, while Gizeric had been excellently trained in warfare, and was the cleverest of all men. Boniface accordingly sent to Spain those who were his own most intimate friends and gained the adherence of each of the sons of Godigisclus on terms of complete equality, it being agreed that each one of the three, holding a third part of Libya, should rule over his own subjects; but if a foe should come against any one of them to make war, that they should in common ward off the aggressors. On the basis of this agreement the Vandals crossed the strait at Gadira and came into Libya, and the Visigoths in later times settled in Spain. But in Rome the friends of Boniface, remembering the character of the man and considering how strange his action was, were greatly astonished to think that Boniface was setting up a tyranny, and some of them at the order of Placidia went to Carthage. There they met Boniface and saw the letter of Aetius, and after hearing the whole story they returned to Rome as quickly as they could and reported to Placidia how Boniface stood in relation to her. And though the woman was dumbfounded, she did nothing unpleasant to Aetius nor did she upbraid him for what he had done to the emperor's house, for he himself wielded great power and the affairs of the empire were already in an evil plight; but she disclosed to the friends of Boniface the advice Aetius had given, and, offering oaths and pledges of safety, entreated them to persuade the man, if they could, to return to his fatherland and

περιιδόντα ὑπὸ βαρβάροις κειμένην τὴν Ῥωμαίων
30 ἀρχήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Βονιφάτιος ἤκουσε ταῦτα, τῆς
τε πράξεως αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους
ὁμολογίας μετέμελε, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλιπάρει μύρια
πάντα ὑποδεχόμενος[1] ἀπὸ Λιβύης ἀνίστασθαι.
31 τῶν δὲ οὐκ ἐνδεχομένων τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλὰ περι-
υβρίζεσθαι οἰομένων, ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἐλθεῖν
ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἡσσηθεὶς τῇ μάχῃ ἐς Ἱππονε-
ρέγιον ἀνεχώρησε,[2] πόλιν ὀχυρὰν[3] ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ
32 τῇ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ κειμένην. ἔνθα δὴ οἱ Βανδίλοι
στρατοπεδευσάμενοι Γιζερίχου σφίσιν ἡγουμένου
ἐπολιόρκουν· Γόνθαρις γὰρ ἤδη ἐτεθνήκει. φασὶ
33 δὲ αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἀπολέσθαι. Βανδίλοι
δὲ τούτοις οὐχ ὁμολογοῦντες Γόνθαρίν φασιν ἐν
Ἱσπανίᾳ πρὸς Γερμανῶν ξυλληφθέντα ἐν μάχῃ
ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι, καὶ Γιζέριχον ἤδη αὐτοκρά-
τορα ὄντα Βανδίλοις ἐς Λιβύην ἡγήσασθαι.
34 ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτω πρὸς Βανδίλων ἀκήκοα. χρό-
νου δὲ πολλοῦ διελθόντος, ἐπεὶ οὔτε[4] βίᾳ οὔτε[4]
ὁμολογίᾳ τὸ Ἱππονερέγιον παραστήσασθαι οἷοί
τε ἦσαν καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ἐπιέζοντο, τὴν προσεδρείαν
35 διέλυσαν. ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ Βονιφάτιός
τε καὶ οἱ ἐν Λιβύῃ Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ἔκ τε
Ῥώμης καὶ Βυζαντίου πολὺς στρατὸς ἦλθε καὶ
στρατηγὸς Ἄσπαρ, ἀναμαχέσασθαί τε ἠξίουν καὶ
μάχης καρτερᾶς γενομένης παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσημένοι
τῶν πολεμίων ὅπῃ ἕκαστος ἐδύναντο ἐς φυγὴν
36 ὥρμηντο. καὶ ὅ τε Ἄσπαρ ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθη

[1] ὑποδεχόμενος V : ὑποσχόμενος P.
[2] ἀνεχώρησε P : ἀπεχώρησε V.
[3] ὀχυράν V : ἐχυράν P.
[4] οὔτε—οὔτε Haury : οὐδέ—οὐδέ MSS.

not to permit the empire of the Romans to lie under the hand of barbarians. And when Boniface heard this, he repented of his act and of his agreement with the barbarians, and he besought them incessantly, promising them everything, to remove from Libya. But since they did not receive his words with favour, but considered that they were being insulted, he was compelled to fight with them, and being defeated in the battle, he retired to Hippo[1] Regius, a strong city in the portion of Numidia that is on the sea. There the Vandals made camp under the leadership of Gizeric and began a siege; for Gontharis had already died. And they say that he perished at the hand of his brother. The Vandals, however, do not agree with those who make this statement, but say that Gontharis was captured in battle by Germans in Spain and impaled, and that Gizeric was already sole ruler when he led the Vandals into Libya. This, indeed, I have heard from the Vandals, stated in this way. But after much time had passed by, since they were unable to secure Hippo Regius either by force or by surrender, and since at the same time they were being pressed by hunger, they raised the siege. And a little later Boniface and the Romans in Libya, since a numerous army had come from both Rome and Byzantium and Aspar with them as general, decided to renew the struggle, and a fierce battle was fought in which they were badly beaten by the enemy, and they made haste to flee as each one could. And Aspar betook himself homeward, and Boniface, coming

[1] Now corrupted to Bona.

καὶ Βονιφάτιος ὡς Πλακιδίαν ἀφικόμενος τὴν ὑποψίαν διέλυεν, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἀληθοῦς αἰτίας ἐς αὐτὸν γένοιτο.

IV

Τὴν μὲν δὴ Λιβύην οὕτω Βανδίλοι Ῥωμαίους ἀφελόμενοι ἔσχον. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οὓς λάβοιεν ζῶντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων ποιούμενοι μοίρᾳ[1] ἐν φυ-
2 λακῇ εἶχον. ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ Μαρκιανὸν ξυνέπεσεν εἶναι, ὃς ὕστερον τελευτήσαντος Θεοδοσίου
3 τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβε. τότε μέντοι Γιζέριχος ἐν τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ παρεῖναι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἐκέλευεν, ὅπως οἱ εἰδέναι σκοπουμένῳ ἐξῇ ὅτῳ ἂν δεσπότῃ αὐτῶν ἕκαστος οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀξίας
4 δουλεύοι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνελέγησαν αἴθριοι, ἀμφὶ ἡμέραν μέσην ὥρᾳ θέρους ἀχθόμενοι τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐκάθηντο. ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Μαρκιανὸς ὅπου δὴ
5 ἀπημελημένως ἐκάθευδε. καί τις αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς ὑπερίπτατο, τὰ πτερά, ὥς λέγουσι, διαπετάσας, ἀεί τε μένων ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τοῦ ἀέρος χώρᾳ μόνον
6 τὸν Μαρκιανὸν ἐπεσκίαζεν. ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπερῴων τὸ ποιούμενον ἰδὼν Γιζέριχος, ἀγχίνους τις ὢν μάλιστα, θεῖόν τε εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα ὑπώπτευσε[2] καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον μεταπεμψάμενος ἐπυνθάνετο
7 αὐτοῦ ὅστις[3] ποτὲ εἴη. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀπορρήτων Ἄσπαρι ἔφη κοινωνὸς εἶναι· δομέστικον δὲ τοῦτον τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.
8 ταῦτα Γιζερίχῳ ἀκούσαντι καὶ ξυμβαλλομένῳ

[1] ἐν—μοίρᾳ V: ἐς—μοῖραν P.
[2] ὑπώπτευσε Maltretus: ὑπόπτευσε MS.
[3] ὅστις Maltretus: ὥς τις MS

before Placidia, acquitted himself of the suspicion, showing that it had arisen against him for no true cause.

IV

So the Vandals, having wrested Libya from the Romans in this way, made it their own. And those of the enemy whom they took alive they reduced to slavery and held under guard. Among these happened to be Marcian, who later upon the death of Theodosius assumed the imperial power. At that time, however, Gizeric commanded that the captives be brought into the king's courtyard, in order that it might be possible for him, by looking at them, to know what master each of them might serve without degradation. And when they were gathered under the open sky, about midday, the season being summer, they were distressed by the sun and sat down. And somewhere or other among them Marcian, quite neglected, was sleeping. Then an eagle flew over him spreading out his wings, as they say, and always remaining in the same place in the air he cast a shadow over Marcian alone. And Gizeric, upon seeing from the upper storey what was happening, since he was an exceedingly discerning person, suspected that the thing was a divine manifestation, and summoning the man enquired of him who he might be. And he replied that he was a confidential adviser of Aspar; such a person the Romans call a "domesticus" in their own tongue. And when Gizeric heard this and considered first the meaning

μὲν τὸ τοῦ ὄρνιθος ἔργον, τὴν δὲ Ἄσπαρος δύναμιν ἐν νῷ ἔχοντι ὅση ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐχρῆτο, καταφανὲς ἐγίνετο ὡς εἰς βασιλείαν ὁ[1] ἀνὴρ ἄγοιτο.
9 κτεῖναι μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἥκιστα ἐδικαίου, ἐκλογιζόμενος ὡς, ἢν μὲν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτὸν ἀφανίζῃ, εὔδηλον ἔσται ὡς οὐδὲν ἂν τὸ τῷ ὄρνιθι ποιηθὲν εἴη (οὐ γὰρ βασιλέα τῇ σκιᾷ θεραπεύοι, ὅς γε αὐτίκα δὴ ἀπολεῖσθαι ἔμελλε), λόγῳ τε αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ κτείνοι· ἢν δέ γε χρῆν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ βασιλεῦσαι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, οὐ μήποτέ οἱ θανάτῳ καταληπτὸς ἔσται· τὰ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐς βουλὴν ἥκοντα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἀνθρώπου γνώμῃ κωλυτὰ
10 εἶναι. ὅρκοις δὲ αὐτὸν καταλαμβάνει ὡς, ἢν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἔσται, οὔποτε πρός γε Βανδίλους ἐν ὅπλοις γένηται. οὕτω δὴ Μαρκιανὸς ἀφειμένος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφίκετο καὶ Θεοδοσίου χρόνῳ ὕστερον
11 τελευτήσαντος ἐδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ξύμπαντα βασιλεὺς ἐγεγόνει ἀγαθός, τὰ δὲ ἀμφὶ Λιβύην ἐν οὐδενὶ ἐποιήσατο λόγῳ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα[2] μὲν ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐγένετο.
12 Γιζέριχος δὲ τότε Ἄσπαρά τε καὶ Βονιφάτιον μάχῃ νικήσας πρόνοιάν τε ἐπιδειξάμενος ἀφηγήσεως ἀξίαν, τὴν εὐτυχίαν ὡς μάλιστα ἐκρατύνατο.
13 δείσας γάρ, ἢν καὶ αὖθις ἔκ τε Ῥώμης καὶ Βυζαντίου στρατὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴοι, μὴ οὐχ οἷοί τε ὦσιν οἱ Βανδίλοι τῇ τε ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ τύχῃ ὁμοίᾳ χρῆσθαι, ἐπεὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια τοῖς τε θείοις σφάλλεσθαι καὶ τοῖς σώμασι φιλεῖ ἐλασσοῦσθαι, οὐχ οἷς εὐημέρησεν ἐπηρμένος, ἀλλ' οἷς ἔδεισε μέτριος γεγονώς,

[1] εἰς βασιλείαν ὁ added by Haury, from Theophanes i. 104, 29.
[2] ταῦτα Maltretus : ταύτῃ MS.

of the bird's action, and then remembered how great power Aspar exercised in Byzantium, it became evident to him that the man was being led to royal power. He therefore by no means deemed it right to kill him, reasoning that, if he should remove him from the world, it would be very clear that the thing which the bird had done was nothing (for he would not honour with his shadow a king who was about to die straightway), and he felt, too, that he would be killing him for no good cause; and if, on the other hand, it was fated that in later times the man should become king, it would never be within his power to inflict death upon him; for that which has been decided upon by God could never be prevented by a man's decision. But he bound Marcian by oaths that, if it should be in his power, he would never take up arms against the Vandals at least. Thus, then, Marcian was released and came to Byzantium, and when at a later time Theodosius died he received the 450 A.D. empire. And in all other respects he proved himself a good emperor, but he paid no attention at all to affairs in Libya. But this happened in later times.

At that time Gizeric, after conquering Aspar and Boniface in battle, displayed a foresight worth recounting, whereby he made his good fortune most thoroughly secure. For fearing lest, if once again an army should come against him from both Rome and Byzantium, the Vandals might not be able to use the same strength and enjoy the same fortune, (since human affairs are wont to be overturned by Heaven and to fail by reason of the weakness of men's bodies), he was not lifted up by the good fortune he had enjoyed, but rather became moderate because of what he feared, and so he made a treaty

σπονδὰς πρὸς βασιλέα Βαλεντινιανὸν ποιεῖται ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς ἕκαστον ἔτος δασμοὺς ἐκ Λιβύης βασιλεῖ φέρειν, ἕνα τε τῶν παίδων Ὁνώριχον ἐν ὁμήρου μοίρᾳ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ὁμολογίᾳ παρέδωκε.
14 Γιζέριχος μὲν οὖν ἔν τε τῇ μάχῃ ἐγένετο ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ τὴν νίκην ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα διεφύλαξε καὶ Ὁνώριχον τὸν παῖδα τῆς φιλίας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ
15 μέγα χωρούσης ἀπέλαβεν. ἐν δὲ δὴ Ῥώμῃ Πλακιδία μὲν πρότερον ἐτελεύτα, ἔπειτα δὲ Βαλεντινιανὸς ὁ ταύτης υἱός, ἄπαις ἀρσενογόνου, θυγατέρε μέντοι αὐτῷ δύο ἐξ Εὐδοξίας τῆς Θεοδοσίου παιδὸς ἐγενέσθην. ὅτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ Βαλεντινιανὸς ἐτελεύτα, λέξων ἔρχομαι.

16 Μάξιμός τις ἦν ἐκ γερουσίας ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου Μαξίμου οἰκίας ὃν ὁ[1] πρεσβύτερος Θεοδόσιος τυραννοῦντα καθελὼν ἔκτεινεν· ὑπὲρ οὗ δὴ καὶ τὴν ἐνιαύσιον ἑορτὴν ἄγουσι Ῥωμαῖοι
17 τῆς τοῦ Μαξίμου ἥσσης ἐπώνυμον. οὗτος ὁ νεώτερος Μάξιμος γυναικὶ ξυνῴκει σώφρονί τε τὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ κάλλος διαβοήτῳ ἐς ἄγαν οὔσῃ. διὸ δὴ αὐτῇ ἐς κοίτην ἐλθεῖν Βαλεντινιανῷ τις[2]
18 ἐπιθυμία ἐγένετο. καὶ ἐπεὶ βουλομένῳ αὐτῇ ξυγγενέσθαι ἀμήχανα ἦν, ἐβούλευσέ τε ἀνόσια
19 ἔργα καὶ ἐπιτελῆ ταῦτα ἐποίησε. μεταπεμψάμενος γὰρ τὸν Μάξιμον ἐς παλάτιον ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὸ πεττεύειν καθίστατο, καὶ χρυσίον ῥητὸν
20 ἐτέτακτο ἡ ζημία τῷ ἡσσηθέντι· νενικηκὼς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ἔργῳ καὶ τὸν Μαξίμου δακτύλιον ἐνέχυρον τῷ ξυγκειμένῳ κεκομισμένος ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου οἰκίαν πέμπει, εἰπεῖν ἐπιστείλας

[1] ὁ added by Herwerden.
[2] τις MSS. : δεινή τις Herwerden, cf. ἐξαισία τις vii. 31, 2.

with the Emperor Valentinian providing that each year he should pay to the emperor tribute from Libya, and he delivered over one of his sons, Honoric, as a hostage to make this agreement binding. So Gizeric both showed himself a brave man in the battle and guarded the victory as securely as possible, and, since the friendship between the two peoples increased greatly, he received back his son Honoric. And at Rome Placidia had died before this time, and after her, Valentinian, her son, also died, having no male offspring, but two daughters had been born to him from Eudoxia, the child of Theodosius. And I shall now relate in what manner Valentinian died.

There was a certain Maximus, a Roman senator, of the house of that Maximus[1] who, while usurping the imperial power, was overthrown by the elder Theodosius and put to death, and on whose account also the Romans celebrate the annual festival named from the defeat of Maximus. This younger Maximus was married to a woman discreet in her ways and exceedingly famous for her beauty. For this reason a desire came over Valentinian to have her to wife. And since it was impossible, much as he wished it, to meet her, he plotted an unholy deed and carried it to fulfilment. For he summoned Maximus to the palace and sat down with him to a game of draughts, and a certain sum was set as a penalty for the loser; and the emperor won in this game, and receiving Maximus' ring as a pledge for the agreed amount, he sent it to his house, instructing the messenger to

[1] Emperor in Gaul, Britain and Spain 383-388. Aspiring to be Emperor of the West, he invaded Italy, was defeated by Theodosius, and put to death.

τῇ γυναικὶ ὅτι δὴ αὐτὴν κελεύει Μάξιμος ὡς
τάχιστα ἐς παλάτιον ἥκειν τὴν βασιλίδα Εὐ-
21 δοξίαν ἀσπασομένην. καὶ ἡ μὲν τὸν λόγον τῷ
δακτυλίῳ τεκμηραμένη Μαξίμου εἶναι ἐσβᾶσα
εἰς τὸ φορεῖον κομίζεται ἐς τὴν βασιλέως αὐλήν.
22 λαβόντες δὲ αὐτὴν οἷς δὴ αὕτη ἐκ βασιλέως ἡ
ὑπουργία ἐπέκειτο, εἰσάγουσιν εἴς τι δωμάτιον
τῆς γυναικωνίτιδος μακρὰν ἄποθεν, οὗ δὴ αὐτῇ ὁ
Βαλεντινιανὸς ἐντυχὼν οὔτι ἑκουσίαν βιάζεται.
23 ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὕβριν ἐς τοῦ ἀνδρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν
ἐλθοῦσα δεδακρυμένη τε καὶ τῇ συμφορᾷ ὡς
ἔνι μάλιστα περιαλγοῦσα[1] πολλὰς ἐπέβαλε τῷ
Μαξίμῳ ἀράς, ἅτε τοῖς πεπραγμένοις τὴν αἰτίαν
24 παρασχομένῳ. περιώδυνος τοίνυν ὁ Μάξιμος
τοῖς ξυμπεσοῦσι γενόμενος αὐτίκα μὲν εἰς ἐπι-
βουλὴν τοῦ βασιλέως καθίστατο· ὡς δὲ τὸν
Ἀέτιον ἑώρα μέγα δυνάμενον, ὃς καὶ Ἀττίλαν
ἄρτι ἐνενικήκει στρατῷ μεγάλῳ Μασσαγετῶν τε
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Σκυθῶν ἐς τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν
ἐσβαλόντα,[2] ἐνθύμιόν οἱ ἐγένετο ὥς οἱ Ἀέτιος ἐς
25 τὰ πρασσόμενα ἐμπόδιος ἔσται. ταῦτά τε δια-
νοουμένῳ ἄμεινον ἔδοξεν εἶναι τὸν Ἀέτιον ἐκποδὼν
ποιήσασθαι πρότερον, οὐδὲν ποιησαμένῳ ὅτι ἐς
26 αὐτὸν περιέστηκε πᾶσα ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἐλπίς. τῶν
δὲ ἀμφὶ τὴν βασιλέως θεραπείαν εὐνούχων εὐνοϊ-
κῶς οἱ ἐχόντων, ἀνέπεισε ταῖς αὐτῶν μηχαναῖς
βασιλέα ὡς νεωτέροις πράγμασιν ἐγχειροίη
27 Ἀέτιος. Βαλεντινιανὸς δὲ ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ὅτι μὴ
τῇ Ἀετίου δυνάμει τε καὶ ἀρετῇ τεκμηριώσας τὸν
28 λόγον ὑγιᾶ εἶναι κτείνει τὸν ἄνδρα. ὅτε δὴ καὶ

[1] περιαλγοῦσα V : συναλγοῦσα P.
[2] ἐσβαλόντα Haury : ἐσβαλόντι V, ἐσβάλλόντων P.

tell the wife of Maximus that her husband bade her come as quickly as possible to the palace to salute the queen Eudoxia. And she, judging by the ring that the message was from Maximus, entered her litter and was conveyed to the emperor's court. And she was received by those who had been assigned this service by the emperor, and led into a certain room far removed from the women's apartments, where Valentinian met her and forced her, much against her will. And she, after the outrage, went to her husband's house weeping and feeling the deepest possible grief because of her misfortune, and she cast many curses upon Maximus as having provided the cause for what had been done. Maximus, accordingly, became exceedingly aggrieved at that which had come to pass, and straightway entered into a conspiracy against the emperor; but when he saw that Aetius was exceedingly powerful, for he had recently conquered Attila, who had invaded the Roman domain with a great army of Massagetae and the other Scythians, the thought occurred to him that Aetius would be in the way of his undertaking. And upon considering this matter, it seemed to him that it was the better course to put Aetius out of the way first, paying no heed to the fact that the whole hope of the Romans centred in him. And since the eunuchs who were in attendance upon the emperor were well-disposed toward him, he persuaded the emperor by their devices that Aetius was setting on foot a revolution. And Valentinian, judging by nothing else than the power and valour of Aetius that the report was true, put the man to death. Sept. 21, 454 A.D.
Whereupon a certain Roman made himself famous

Ῥωμαίων τις ἔπος εἰπὼν ηὐδοκίμησεν. ἐρομένου
γὰρ αὐτὸν βασιλέως εἴ οἱ καλῶς ὁ τοῦ Ἀετίου
θάνατος ἐργασθείη, ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων οὐκ ἔχειν
μὲν εἰδέναι τοῦτο εἴτε εὖ εἴτε πη ἄλλῃ αὐτῷ
εἴργασται, ἐκεῖνο μέντοι ὡς ἄριστα ἐξεπίστασθαι,
ὅτι αὐτοῦ τὴν δεξιὰν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ ἀποτεμὼν εἴη.
29 Ἀετίου γοῦν τελευτήσαντος Ἀττίλας, οὐδενός
οἱ ἀντιπάλου ὄντος, Εὐρώπην τε ξύμπασαν πόνῳ
οὐδενὶ ἐλῄζετο καὶ βασιλείαν ἑκατέραν ἐπακού-
ουσαν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἔσχε. δασμοὶ γὰρ
αὐτῷ πρὸς τῶν βασιλέων ἐπέμποντο ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος.
30 τότε τῷ Ἀττίλᾳ πόλιν Ἀκυληίαν πολιορκοῦντι
μεγάλην τε καὶ ἀτεχνῶς πολυάνθρωπον, παρ-
αλίαν μέν, ἐκτὸς δὲ κόλπου τοῦ Ἰονίου οὖσαν,
31 τοιόνδε φασὶν εὐτύχημα ξυνενεχθῆναι. λέγουσι
γὰρ αὐτόν, ἐπειδὴ οὔτε βίᾳ οὔτε τῳ ἄλλῳ τρόπῳ
οἷός τε ἦν τὸ χωρίον ἑλεῖν, πρός τε τὴν προσε-
δρείαν ἀπειπεῖν, ἤδη ἐπὶ μακρότατον γεγενημένην,
καὶ ἅπαν κελεῦσαι τὸ στράτευμα τὰ ἐς τὴν
ἀναχώρησιν ἐν παρασκευῇ αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ποιή-
σασθαι, ὅπως δὴ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἐνθένδε ἅπαντες
32 ἐξανιστῶνται ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι. ἡμέρᾳ δὲ τῇ
ἐπιγινομένῃ ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς λύσαντας μὲν
τὴν προσεδρείαν τοὺς βαρβάρους τῆς ἀφόδου [1]
ἔχεσθαι ἤδη, ἕνα δὲ πελαργὸν ἐπὶ πύργου τινὸς
τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου καλιάν τε ἔχοντα καὶ
νεοττοὺς τρέφοντα [2] ἐνθένδε ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου ξὺν
33 τοῖς τέκνοις ἐξαναστῆναι. καὶ τὸν μὲν πατέρα
πελαργὸν ἵπτασθαι, τοὺς δὲ πελαργιδεῖς, ἅτε
οὔπω ἐκπετησίμους παντάπασιν ὄντας, τὰ μὲν
αὐτῷ μετέχειν τῆς πτήσεως, τὰ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ νώτου

[1] ἀφόδου P : ἐφόδου V. [2] τρέφοντα P : φέροντα V.

by a saying which he uttered. For when the emperor enquired of him whether he had done well in putting Aetius to death, he replied saying that, as to this matter, he was not able to know whether he had done well or perhaps otherwise, but one thing he understood exceedingly well, that he had cut off his own right hand with the other.

So after the death of Aetius,[1] Attila, since no one was a match for him, plundered all Europe with no trouble and made both emperors subservient and tributary to himself. For tribute money was sent to him every year by the emperors. At that time, while Attila was besieging Aquileia, a city of great size and exceedingly populous situated near the sea and above the Ionian Gulf, they say that the following good fortune befell him. For they tell the story that, when he was able to capture the place neither by force nor by any other means, he gave up the siege in despair, since it had already lasted a long time, and commanded the whole army without any delay to make their preparations for the departure, in order that on the morrow all might move from there at sunrise. And the following day about sunrise, the barbarians had raised the siege and were already beginning the departure, when a single male stork which had a nest on a certain tower of the city wall and was rearing his nestlings there suddenly rose and left the place with his young. And the father stork was flying, but the little storks, since they were not yet quite ready to fly, were at times sharing their father's flight and at times riding

[1] This is an error, for Attila died before Aetius.

τοῦ πατρὸς φέρεσθαι, οὕτω τε ἀποπτάντας τῆς
34 πόλεως ἑκαστάτω γενέσθαι. ὃ δὴ Ἀττίλαν κατιδόντα (ἦν γὰρ δεινότατος ξυνεῖναί[1] τε καὶ ξυμβαλεῖν ἅπαντα) κελεῦσαι τὸν στρατὸν αὖθις ἐν χώρῳ τῷ αὐτῷ μένειν, ἐπειπόντα οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἰκῇ ἐνθένδε ἀποπτάντα ξὺν τοῖς νεοττοῖς τὸν ὄρνιν οἴχεσθαι, εἰ μή τι ἐμαντεύετο φλαῦρον οὐκ
35 εἰς μακρὰν τῷ χωρίῳ ξυμβήσεσθαι. οὕτω μὲν τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων στρατόπεδον αὖθις ἐς τὴν πολιορκίαν καταστῆναί φασι, τοῦ δὲ περιβόλου μοῖράν τινα οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκείνην ᾗ τὴν τοῦ ὄρνιθος τούτου καλιὰν εἶχεν, ἀπ' οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐξαπιναίως καταπεσεῖν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ταύτῃ ἐσιτητὰ ἐς τὴν πόλιν γενέσθαι, οὕτω τε τὴν Ἀκυληΐαν κατὰ κράτος ἁλῶναι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τῇ Ἀκυληΐᾳ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχεν.

36 Ὕστερον δὲ καὶ βασιλέα οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἔκτεινε Μάξιμος καὶ τὴν τυραννίδα ἔσχε, τῇ τε Εὐδοξίᾳ ξυγγέγονε βίᾳ. γυνὴ γὰρ ἥπερ αὐτῷ ξυνῴκει τετελευτήκει οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον. καί ποτε αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ προσέφερε λόγον ὡς τοῦ αὐτῆς ἔρωτος εἵνεκα πάντα εἴη διαπεπραγμένος ἃ εἴργαστο.
37 τήν τε Εὐδοξίαν ἀχθομένην Μαξίμῳ καὶ πρότερον τίσασθαί τε αὐτὸν τῆς ἐς Βαλεντινιανὸν ἀδικίας ἐπιθυμοῦσαν ἔτι[2] μᾶλλον εἰς αὐτὸν οἰδαίνειν ὁ λόγος ἐποίησεν, ἔς τε τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἐνῆγεν,[3] ἐπεὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ἕνεκα ξυμβῆναι
38 τὴν συμφορὰν Μαξίμου λέγοντος ἤκουσε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, πέμπει ἐς Καρχη-

[1] ξυνεῖναί V : ξυνιδεῖν P.
[2] δὲ after ἔτι deleted by Haury.
[3] ἐνῆγεν Haury : ἐνῆκεν MSS.

upon his back, and thus they flew off and went far away from the city. And when Attila saw this (for he was most clever at comprehending and interpreting all things), he commanded the army, they say, to remain still in the same place, adding that the bird would never have gone flying off at random from there with his nestlings, unless he was prophesying that some evil would come to the place at no distant time. Thus, they say, the army of the barbarians settled down to the siege once more, and not long after that a portion of the wall—the very part which held the nest of that bird—for no apparent reason suddenly fell down, and it became possible for the enemy to enter the city at that point, and thus Aquileia was captured by storm. Such is the story touching Aquileia.

Later on Maximus slew the emperor with no 455 A.D. trouble and secured the tyranny, and he married Eudoxia by force. For the wife to whom he had been wedded had died not long before. And on one occasion in private he made the statement to Eudoxia that it was all for the sake of her love that he had carried out all that he had done. And since she felt a repulsion for Maximus even before that time, and had been desirous of exacting vengeance from him for the wrong done Valentinian, his words made her swell with rage still more against him, and led her on to carry out her plot, since she had heard Maximus say that on account of her the misfortune had befallen her husband. And as soon as day came, she sent to Carthage

δόνα δεομένη Γιζερίχου τιμωρεῖν Βαλεντινιανῷ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς ἀνοσίου διαφθαρέντι, αὐτοῦ τε ἀναξίως καὶ τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ αὐτὴν ῥύεσθαι πάσχουσαν
39 πρὸς τοῦ τυράννου ἀνόσια. ἐπέσκηπτε δὲ ὡς φίλῳ τε καὶ ξυμμάχῳ ὄντι Γιζερίχῳ καὶ τηλικοῦδε[1] πάθους ἐς[2] οἶκον τὸν βασιλέως ξυμβάντος τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τιμωρῷ γενέσθαι οὐχ ὅσιόν ἐστιν. ἐκ Βυζαντίου γὰρ τιμωρίαν οὐδεμίαν ᾤετο ἔσεσθαι, Θεοδοσίου μὲν ἤδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος, Μαρκιανοῦ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβόντος.

V

Γιζέριχος δὲ δι' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, ὅτι δὲ αὐτῷ χρήματα μεγάλα ἔσεσθαι ὑπετόπαζε, στόλῳ πολλῷ ἐς Ἰταλίαν κατέπλευσεν. ἀναβὰς δὲ ἐς Ῥώμην, ἐπεὶ οὐδείς οἱ ἐμποδὼν ἔστηκε, τῶν
2 βασιλείων ἐκράτησε. Μάξιμον μὲν οὖν[3] φεύγοντα Ῥωμαῖοι λίθοις βαλόντες[4] διέφθειραν, καὶ τήν τε κεφαλὴν τῶν τε ἄλλων μελῶν ἕκαστον
3 ἀποτεμόμενοι διείλοντο σφίσι. Γιζέριχος δὲ τήν τε Εὐδοξίαν ἅμα Εὐδοκίᾳ τε καὶ Πλακιδίᾳ, ταῖς αὐτῆς τε καὶ Βαλεντινιανοῦ παισίν, αἰχμάλωτον εἷλε, χρυσοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέως κτημάτων πολύ τι χρῆμα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐνθέμενος ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, οὔτε χαλκοῦ οὔτε ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις φεισάμενος.
4 ἐσύλησε δὲ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου

[1] τηλικοῦδε O : τηλικούτου δὲ VP. [2] ἐς om. VO.
[3] μὲν οὖν VP : δὲ αὖ O.
[4] βαλόντες P : λαβόντες V, βάλλοντες O.

entreating Gizeric to avenge Valentinian, who had been destroyed by an unholy man, in a manner unworthy both of himself and of his imperial station, and to deliver her, since she was suffering unholy treatment at the hand of the tyrant. And she impressed it upon Gizeric that, since he was a friend and ally and so great a calamity had befallen the imperial house, it was not a holy thing to fail to become an avenger. For from Byzantium she thought no vengeance would come, since Theodosius had already departed from the world and Marcian had taken over the empire. Mar. 17, 455 A.D.

V

AND Gizeric, for no other reason than that he suspected that much money would come to him, set sail for Italy with a great fleet. And going up to Rome, since no one stood in his way, he took possession of the palace. Now while Maximus was trying to flee, the Romans threw stones at him and killed him, and they cut off his head and each of his other members and divided them among themselves. But Gizeric took Eudoxia captive, together with Eudocia and Placidia, the children of herself and Valentinian, and placing an exceedingly great amount of gold and other imperial treasure[1] in his ships sailed to Carthage, having spared neither bronze nor anything else whatsoever in the palace. He plundered also the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and

[1] Including the famous treasure which Titus had brought from Jerusalem, cf. IV. ix. 5.

νεὼν καὶ τοῦ τέγους τὴν ἡμίσειαν ἀφείλετο μοῖραν.
τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τέγος χαλκοῦ μὲν τοῦ ἀρίστου
ἐτύγχανεν ὄν, χρυσοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ ὑπερχυθέντος
ἁδροῦ ὡς μάλιστα μεγαλοπρεπές τε καὶ θαύματος
5 πολλοῦ ἄξιον διεφαίνετο. τῶν δὲ μετὰ Γιζερίχου
νεῶν μίαν μέν, ἣ τὰς εἰκόνας ἔφερε, φασὶν
ἀπολέσθαι, πάσαις δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις οἱ Βανδίλοι
6 ἐς τὸν Καρχηδόνος λιμένα κατῆραν. Εὐδοκίαν
μὲν οὖν[1] Γιζέριχος Ὁνωρίχῳ τῷ τῶν παίδων
πρεσβυτέρῳ ξυνῴκισε,[2] τὴν δὲ δὴ ἑτέραν (ἀνδρὶ
γὰρ ξυνῴκει Ὀλυβρίῳ, τῶν ἐν βουλῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων
δοκιμωτάτῳ) ἅμα τῇ μητρὶ Εὐδοξίᾳ, ἐξαιτησα-
7 μένου βασιλέως, ἐς Βυζάντιον ἔπεμψεν. ἤδη δὲ
τὸ τῶν ἑῴων κράτος ἐς Λέοντα περιεστήκει,
Ἄσπαρος ἐς τοῦτο αὐτὸν καταστησαμένου,[3]
ἐπειδὴ Μαρκιανὸς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπήλλακτο.
8 Ὕστερον δὲ Γιζέριχος ἐπενόει τοιάδε. τῶν
ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεων, πλὴν Καρχηδόνος, τὰ τείχη
καθεῖλεν, ὡς ἂν μήτε αὐτοὶ Λίβυες τὰ Ῥωμαίων
ἑλόμενοι ἔκ τε ἐχυροῦ ὁρμᾶσθαι καὶ νεωτερίζειν
ἱκανοὶ εἶεν μήτε τοῖς ἐκ βασιλέως στελλομένοις
ἐν ἐλπίδι ἔσται ὡς καὶ πόλιν καταλήψονται
καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν αὐτῇ ποιησάμενοι πράγματα
9 Βανδίλοις παρέξονται.[4] τότε μὲν οὖν εὖ τε ἔδοξε
βεβουλεῦσθαι[5] καὶ τὴν εὐημερίαν Βανδίλοις
ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα διασώσασθαι, χρόνῳ δὲ τῷ
ὑστέρῳ, ὅτε δὴ ἀτείχιστοι οὖσαι ῥᾷόν τε καὶ
ἀπονώτερον πρὸς Βελισαρίου αἱ πόλεις αὗται
ἡλίσκοντο, πολύν τε γέλωτα ἤδη Γιζέριχος ὦφλε

[1] οὖν VP : εὖ O. [2] ξυνώκισε O : ξυνώκησε VP.
[3] καταστησαμένου VP : ἀποκαταστησαμένου O.
[4] παρέξονται Dindorf : παρέξωνται MSS.
[5] βεβουλεῦσθαι VO : βουλεύεσθαι P.

tore off half of the roof. Now this roof was of bronze of the finest quality, and since gold was laid over it exceedingly thick, it shone as a magnificent and wonderful spectacle.[1] But of the ships with Gizeric, one, which was bearing the statues, was lost, they say, but with all the others the Vandals reached port in the harbour of Carthage. Gizeric then married Eudocia to Honoric, the elder of his sons; but the other of the two women, being the wife of Olybrius, a most distinguished man in the Roman senate, he sent to Byzantium together with her mother, Eudoxia, at the request of the emperor. Now the power of the East had by now fallen to Leon, who had been set in this position by Aspar, since Marcian had 457 A.D.
already passed from the world.

Afterwards Gizeric devised the following scheme. He tore down the walls of all the cities in Libya except Carthage, so that neither the Libyans themselves, espousing the cause of the Romans, might have a strong base from which to begin a rebellion, nor those sent by the emperor have any ground for hoping to capture a city and by establishing a garrison in it to make trouble for the Vandals. Now at that time it seemed that he had counselled well and had ensured prosperity for the Vandals in the safest possible manner; but in later times when these cities, being without walls, were captured by Belisarius all the more easily and with less exertion, Gizeric was then condemned to suffer much ridicule,

[1] Domitian had spent 12,000 talents (£2,400,000) on the gilding alone; Plutarch, *Publ.* 15.

καὶ ἡ τέως δοκοῦσά οἱ εὐβουλία ἐς ἄνοιαν αὐτῷ
10 ἀπεκρίθη. ταῖς γὰρ δὴ τύχαις ἀεὶ τὰς δόξας ἐπὶ
τοῖς πρότερον βεβουλευμένοις ξυμμεταβάλλεσθαι
11 φιλοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι. τῶν δὲ Λιβύων εἴ τι μὲν
δόκιμον ἐτύγχανεν ὂν καὶ πλούτῳ ἀκμάζον,
αὐτοῖς ἀγροῖς τε καὶ πᾶσι χρήμασιν ἐν ἀνδρα-
πόδων μοίρᾳ παρέδωκε τοῖς παισὶν Ὁνωρίχῳ τε
καὶ Γένζωνι. Θεόδωρος γὰρ ὁ νεώτατος ἐτελεύτα
ἤδη, ἄπαις τὸ παράπαν ἄρρενός τε καὶ θήλεος
12 γόνου. Λίβυας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀφείλετο μὲν
τοὺς ἀγρούς, οἳ πλεῖστοί τε ἦσαν καὶ ἄριστοι,
ἐς δὲ τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων διένειμεν[1] ἔθνος, καὶ ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ κλῆροι Βανδίλων οἱ ἀγροὶ οὗτοι ἐς τόδε
13 καλοῦνται τοῦ χρόνου. τοῖς δὲ δὴ πάλαι κεκτη-
μένοις τὰ χωρία ταῦτα πένεσθαί τε ὡς μάλιστα
καὶ ἐλευθέροις εἶναι ξυνέβαινεν· ἦν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν
ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ ὅποι βούλοιντο ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.
14 καὶ τὰ μὲν χωρία ξύμπαντα, ὅσα τοῖς τε παισὶ
καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Βανδίλοις Γιζέριχος παραδεδώκει,
οὐδεμιᾶς φόρου ἀπαγωγῆς ὑποτελῆ ἐκέλευσεν
15 εἶναι. τῆς δὲ γῆς ὅση οἱ οὐκ ἀγαθὴ ἔδοξεν εἶναι,
ἀφῆκε τοῖς πρότερον ἔχουσι, τοσαῦτα ἐνθένδε
τῷ δημοσίῳ φέρεσθαι τάξας ὥστε οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν
περιῆν τοῖς τὰ χωρία τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν.
16 ἔφευγον δὲ πολλοὶ καὶ ἐκτείνοντο. αἰτίαι γὰρ
αὐτοῖς πολλαί τε καὶ χαλεπαὶ προσεφέροντο·
17 πασῶν δὲ μία μεγίστη δὴ ἐδόκει εἶναι ὅτι χρή-
ματά τις οἰκεῖα ἔχων ἀπέκρυπτεν. οὕτω τοὺς
Λίβυας πᾶσα ἰδέα ξυμφορᾶς περιέστη.

[1] διένειμεν VP: διέβη μὲν O.

and that which for the time he considered wise counsel turned out for him to be folly. For as fortunes change, men are always accustomed to change with them their judgments regarding what has been planned in the past. And among the Libyans all who happened to be men of note and conspicuous for their wealth he handed over as slaves, together with their estates and all their money, to his sons Honoric and Genzon. For Theodorus, the youngest son, had died already, being altogether without offspring, either male or female. And he robbed the rest of the Libyans of their estates, which were both very numerous and excellent, and distributed them among the nation of the Vandals, and as a result of this these lands have been called "Vandals' estates" up to the present time. And it fell to the lot of those who had formerly possessed these lands to be in extreme poverty and to be at the same time free men; and they had the privilege of going away wheresoever they wished. And Gizeric commanded that all the lands which he had given over to his sons and to the other Vandals should not be subject to any kind of taxation. But as much of the land as did not seem to him good he allowed to remain in the hands of the former owners, but assessed so large a sum to be paid on this land for taxes to the government that nothing whatever remained to those who retained their farms. And many of them were constantly being sent into exile or killed. For charges were brought against them of many sorts, and heavy ones too; but one charge seemed to be the greatest of all, that a man, having money of his own, was hiding it. Thus the Libyans were visited with every form of misfortune.

18 Τοὺς δὲ δὴ Βανδίλους τε καὶ Ἀλανοὺς ἐς
λόχους καταστησάμενος, λοχαγοὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπέ-
στησεν οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ ὀγδοήκοντα, οὕσπερ χιλι-
άρχους ἐκάλεσε, δόκησιν παρέχων ἐς ὀκτὼ οἱ
μυριάδας συνιέναι τὸν τῶν στρατευομένων λεών.
19 καίτοι οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐς μυριάδας πέντε τὸ τῶν
Βανδίλων τε καὶ Ἀλανῶν πλῆθος ἔν γε τῷ πρὶν
20 χρόνῳ ἐλέγετο εἶναι. ἔπειτα μέντοι τῇ τε κατὰ
σφᾶς παιδοποιίᾳ καὶ ἄλλους βαρβάρους ἑταιρι-
σάμενοι ἐς μεγάλην τινὰ πολυανθρωπίαν ἐχώ-
21 ρησαν. τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
βαρβάρων ὀνόματα, πλὴν Μαυρουσίων, ἐς τὸ τῶν
22 Βανδίλων ἅπαντα ἀπεκρίθη. τότε δὲ Γιζέριχος
Μαυρουσίους προσποιησάμενος,[1] ἐπειδὴ Βαλεν-
τινιανὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ
ἔς τε Σικελίαν καὶ Ἰταλίαν ἐσβολὰς ἐποιεῖτο καὶ
τῶν πόλεων τὰς[2] μὲν ἀνδραποδίσας, τὰς[3] δὲ
καθελὼν ἐς ἔδαφος, ληισάμενός τε ἅπαντα, ἐπεὶ
ἀνθρώπων τε ἡ χώρα καὶ χρημάτων ἔρημος ἐγε-
γόνει, ἐς τὸ τοῦ ἑῴου βασιλέως ἐσέβαλε κράτος.
23 Ἰλλυριοὺς οὖν ἐληίζετο καὶ τῆς τε Πελοποννήσου
τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ὅσαι αὐτῇ
νῆσοι ἐπίκεινται. αὖθις δὲ ἔς τε Σικελίαν καὶ
Ἰταλίαν ἀπέβαινεν, ἦγέ τε καὶ ἔφερεν ἐκ περι-
24 τροπῆς ἅπαντα. καί ποτε αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν ναῦν
ἐσβάντα ἐν τῷ Καρχηδόνος λιμένι, ἀνατεινομένων
ἤδη τῶν ἱστίων, φασὶν ἐρέσθαι τὸν κυβερνήτην
25 ἐπὶ τίνας ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων ἰέναι κελεύοι. καὶ τὸν

[1] προσποιησάμενος V : προσεταιρισάμενος O.
[2] τὰς μὲν V : τὰ μὲν O.
[3] τὰς δὲ VO pr. m. corr. : τὰ δὲ O pr. m.

The Vandals and the Alani he arranged in companies, appointing over them no less than eighty captains, whom he called "chiliarchs,"[1] making it appear that his host of fighting men in active service amounted to eighty thousand. And yet the number of the Vandals and Alani was said in former times, at least, to amount to no more than fifty thousand men. However, after that time by their natural increase among themselves and by associating other barbarians with them they came to be an exceedingly numerous people. But the names of the Alani and all the other barbarians, except the Moors, were united in the name of Vandals. At that time, after the death of Valentinian, Gizeric gained the support of the Moors, and every year at the beginning of spring he made invasions into Sicily and Italy, enslaving some of the cities, razing others to the ground, and plundering everything; and when the land had become destitute of men and of money, he invaded the domain of the emperor of the East. And so he plundered Illyricum and the most of the Peloponnesus and of the rest of Greece and all the islands which lie near it. And again he went off to Sicily and Italy, and kept plundering and pillaging all places in turn. And one day when he had embarked on his ship in the harbour of Carthage, and the sails were already being spread, the pilot asked him, they say, against what men in the world he bade them go. And he in reply said: "Plainly

[1] *i.e.* "leaders of a thousand."

ἀποκρινάμενον φάναι, δηλονότι ἐφ᾽ οὓς ὁ θεὸς ὤργισται. οὕτως ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς αἰτίας ἐφ᾽ οὓς ἂν τύχοι ἐσέβαλλε.

VI

Τῶνδε εἵνεκα τίσασθαι Βανδίλους βασιλεὺς Λέων[1] βουλόμενος ξυνήγειρεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στράτευμα· τοῦδε δὲ τοῦ στρατεύματος λέγουσι τὸ πλῆθος ἐς δέκα μάλιστα μυριάδας γενέσθαι. στόλον δὲ νεῶν ἐξ ἁπάσης τῆς πρὸς ἕω θαλάσσης ἀθροίσας πολλὴν ἐπεδείξατο μεγαλοφροσύνην ἔς τε στρατιώτας καὶ ναύτας, δεδιὼς μή τί οἱ ἐκ μικρολογίας ἐμποδὼν γένηται προθυμουμένῳ ἐς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπιτελέσαι τὴν κόλασιν.
2 φασὶ γοῦν αὐτῷ τριακόσια καὶ χίλια κεντηνάρια ἐπ᾽ οὐδενὶ ἔργῳ δεδαπανῆσθαι. ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔδει Βανδίλους τῷ στόλῳ τούτῳ ἀπολωλέναι, αὐτοκράτορα τοῦ πολέμου ποιεῖται Βασιλίσκον, Βηρίνης τῆς γυναικὸς ἀδελφὸν ὄντα καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐκτόπως ἐρῶντα, ἣν οἱ ἤλπισεν ἀμαχητὶ ἔσεσθαι τὴν Ἄσπαρος προσποιησαμένῳ
3 φιλίαν. αὐτὸς γὰρ Ἄσπαρ τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης μεταποιούμενος, ταύτην τε οὐκ ἐννοῶν μετατίθεσθαι, παρελθεῖν μὲν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν, καταστήσασθαι δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν ἕτερον εὐπετῶς ἴσχυσεν, ἤδη τε Λέοντι τῷ βασιλεῖ ὡς
4 ἐπιβουλεύσει προσκεκρουκότι ἐπίδοξος ἦν. λέγουσιν οὖν[2] Ἄσπαρα τότε δείσαντα μὴ Βανδίλων ἡσσημένων ὁ Λέων ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα τὴν

[1] λέων O: λέγων V.
[2] λέγουσιν οὖν V: λέγουσι γοῦν O.

against those with whom God is angry." Thus without any cause he kept making invasions wherever chance might lead him.

VI

And the Emperor Leon, wishing to punish the Vandals because of these things, was gathering an army against them; and they say that this army amounted to about one hundred thousand men. And he collected a fleet of ships from the whole of the eastern Mediterranean, shewing great generosity to both soldiers and sailors, for he feared lest from a parsimonious policy some obstacle might arise to hinder him in his desire to carry out his punishment of the barbarians. Therefore, they say, thirteen hundred centenaria[1] were expended by him to no purpose. But since it was not fated that the Vandals should be destroyed by this expedition, he made Basiliscus commander-in-chief, the brother of his wife Berine, a man who was extraordinarily desirous of the royal power, which he hoped would come to him without a struggle if he won the friendship of Aspar. For Aspar himself, being an adherent of the Arian faith, and having no intention of changing it for another, was unable to enter upon the imperial office, but he was easily strong enough to establish another in it, and it already seemed likely that he would plot against the Emperor Leon, who had given him offence. So they say that since Aspar was then fearful lest, if the Vandals were defeated, Leon should establish his

[1] 130,000 Roman pounds; cf. Book I. xxii. 4. The modern equivalent is unknown.

βασιλείαν κρατύνηται, πολλὰ Βασιλίσκῳ ἐπι-
σκήψαντα παρακαταθέσθαι οἱ Βανδίλους τε καὶ
Γιζέριχον.
5 Λέων δὲ ἤδη πρότερον Ἀνθέμιον, ἄνδρα ἐκ
γερουσίας, πλούτῳ τε καὶ γένει μέγαν, βασιλέα
τῆς ἑσπερίας καταστησάμενος ἔπεμψεν, ὅπως οἱ
τὰ ἐς τὸν Βανδιλικὸν συλλήψεται πόλεμον.
6 καίτοι Γιζέριχος ἔχρῃζε καὶ πολλὰ ἐλιπάρει
Ὀλυβρίῳ παραδοθῆναι τὴν βασιλείαν Πλακιδίᾳ
τῇ Βαλεντινιανοῦ παιδὶ ξυνοικοῦντι καὶ διὰ τὸ
κῆδος εὐνοϊκῶς αὐτῷ ἔχοντι, ἐπειδή τε τούτου
ἠτύχησεν, ἔτι μᾶλλον ὠργίζετο καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν
7 βασιλέως γῆν ἐληΐζετο. ἦν δέ τις ἐν Δαλματίᾳ
Μαρκελλιανὸς τῶν Ἀετίῳ γνωρίμων, ἀνὴρ δό-
κιμος, ὃς ἐπειδὴ Ἀέτιος ἐτελεύτησε τρόπῳ τῷ
εἰρημένῳ, βασιλεῖ εἴκειν οὐκέτι ἠξίου, ἀλλὰ νεω-
τερίσας τε καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἀποστήσας
αὐτὸς[1] εἶχε τὸ Δαλματίας κράτος, οὐδενός οἱ ἐς
8 χεῖρας ἰέναι τολμήσαντος. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Μαρ-
κελλιανὸν τότε Λέων βασιλεὺς εὖ μάλα τιθασ-
σεύων προσεποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς Σαρδὼ τὴν νῆσον
ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι, Βανδίλων κατήκοον οὖσαν. ὁ δὲ
αὐτὴν[2] Βανδίλους ἐξελάσας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔσχεν.
9 Ἡράκλειος δὲ σταλεὶς ἐκ Βυζαντίου εἰς Τρίπολιν
τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ νικήσας τε μάχῃ τοὺς ταύτῃ Βανδί-
λους τάς τε πόλεις ῥᾳδίως εἷλε καὶ τὰς ναῦς
ἐνταῦθα ἀπολιπὼν πεζῇ τὸ στράτευμα ἐς Καρχη-
δόνα ἦγε. τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ πολέμου προοίμια
τῇδε ἐφέρετο.

[1] αὐτὸς Haury : οὗτος MSS.
[2] αὐτὴν VPO pr. m. : αὐτῆς O corr.

power most securely, he repeatedly urged upon Basiliscus that he should spare the Vandals and Gizeric.

Now before this time Leon had already appointed and sent Anthemius, as Emperor of the West, a man of the senate of great wealth and high birth, in order that he might assist him in the Vandalic war. And yet Gizeric kept asking and earnestly entreating that the imperial power be given to Olybrius, who was married to Placidia, the daughter of Valentinian, and on account of his relationship[1] well-disposed toward him, and when he failed in this he was still more angry and kept plundering the whole land of the emperor. Now there was in Dalmatia a certain Marcellianus, one of the acquaintances of Aetius and a man of repute, who, after Aetius had died in the manner told above,[2] no longer deigned to yield obedience to the emperor, but beginning a revolution and detaching all the others from allegiance, held the power of Dalmatia himself, since no one dared encounter him. But the Emperor Leon at that time won over this Marcellianus by very careful wheedling, and bade him go to the island of Sardinia, which was then subject to the Vandals. And he drove out the Vandals and gained possession of it with no great difficulty. And Heracleius was sent from Byzantium to Tripolis in Libya, and after conquering the Vandals of that district in battle, he easily captured the cities, and leaving his ships there, led his army on foot toward Carthage. Such, then, was the sequence of events which formed the prelude of the war. 467 A.D.

[1] Placidia's sister, Eudocia, was wife of Honoric, Gizeric's son. [2] See chap. iv. 27.

10 Βασιλίσκος δὲ τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ ἐς πόλισμα
κατέπλευσε, Καρχηδόνος διέχον οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ
ὀγδοήκοντά τε καὶ διακοσίοις σταδίοις[1] (Ἑρμοῦ
δὲ νεὼς ἐνταῦθα ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἐτύγχανεν ὤν, ἀφ'
οὗ δὴ καὶ Μερκούριον ὁ τόπος ἐκλήθη· οὕτω
γὰρ τὸν Ἑρμῆν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι), καὶ εἰ μὴ
ἐθελοκακήσας ἐμέλλησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺ ἐπεχείρησε
Καρχηδόνος ἰέναι, αὐτήν τε ἂν αὐτοβοεὶ εἷλε
καὶ Βανδίλους ἐς οὐδεμίαν ἀλκὴν τραπομένους
11 κατεδουλώσατο· οὕτω Γιζέριχος Λέοντα ὡς ἄμα-
χον βασιλέα κατωρρώδησεν, ἐπεί οἱ Σαρδώ τε
καὶ Τρίπολις ἁλοῦσαι ἠγγέλλοντο καὶ τὸν Βασι-
λίσκου στόλον ἑώρα οἷος οὐδείς πω ἐλέγετο
Ῥωμαίοις πρότερον γεγενῆσθαι. νῦν δὲ τοῦτο
ἐκώλυσεν ἡ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μέλλησις, εἴτε κακό-
12 τητι εἴτε προδοσίᾳ προσγενομένη.[2] Γιζέριχος
δὲ τῆς Βασιλίσκου ὀλιγωρίας ἀπολαύων ἐποίει
τάδε. ὁπλίσας ἅπαντας ὡς ἄριστα εἶχε τοὺς
ὑπηκόους ἐπλήρου τὰς ναῦς, ἄλλας τε κενὰς
ἀνδρῶν καὶ ὡς τάχιστα πλεούσας ἐν παρασκευῇ
13 εἶχε. πέμψας δὲ πρέσβεις ὡς Βασιλίσκον ἐδεῖτο
τὸν πόλεμον ἐς πέντε ἡμερῶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι χρό-
νον, ὅπως μεταξὺ βουλευσάμενος ἐκεῖνα ποιοίη
14 ἃ δὴ μάλιστα βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ εἴη. λέγουσι
δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ χρυσίου πολύ τι χρῆμα κρύφα τῆς
Βασιλίσκου στρατιᾶς πέμψαντα ταύτην δὴ τὴν
15 ἐκεχειρίαν ὠνήσασθαι. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα οἰό-
μενος, ὅπερ ἐγένετο, πνεῦμα ἐπίφορον ἐν τούτῳ
16 οἱ τῷ χρόνῳ γενήσεσθαι. Βασιλίσκος δὲ ἢ
Ἄσπαρι καθάπερ ὑπέστη χαριζόμενος ἢ τὸν

[1] σταδίοις PO : σταδίους V.
[2] προσγενομένη VP : γενομένη O.

But Basiliscus with his whole fleet put in at a town distant from Carthage no less than two hundred and eighty stades (now it so happened that a temple of Hermes had been there from of old, from which fact the place was named Mercurium; for the Romans call Hermes "Mercurius"), and if he had not purposely played the coward and hesitated, but had undertaken to go straight for Carthage, he would have captured it at the first onset, and he would have reduced the Vandals to subjection without their even thinking of resistance; so overcome was Gizeric with awe of Leon as an invincible emperor, when the report was brought to him that Sardinia and Tripolis had been captured, and he saw the fleet of Basiliscus to be such as the Romans were said never to have had before. But, as it was, the general's hesitation, whether caused by cowardice or treachery, prevented this success. And Gizeric, profiting by the negligence of Basiliscus, did as follows. Arming all his subjects in the best way he could, he filled his ships, but not all, for some he kept in readiness empty, and they were the ships which sailed most swiftly. And sending envoys to Basiliscus, he begged him to defer the war for the space of five days, in order that in the meantime he might take counsel and do those things which were especially desired by the emperor. They say, too, that he sent also a great amount of gold without the knowledge of the army of Basiliscus and thus purchased this armistice. And he did this, thinking, as actually did happen, that a favouring wind would rise for him during this time. And Basiliscus, either as doing a favour to Aspar in accordance with what

καιρὸν χρημάτων ἀποδιδόμενος, ᾗ καὶ βέλτιον
αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη, ἐποίει τε τὰ αἰτούμενα καὶ ἡσύ-
χαζεν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, τὴν εὐκαιρίαν προσδεχό-
μενος τῶν πολεμίων.
17 Οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι, ἐπειδὴ σφίσι τάχιστα τὸ
πνεῦμα ἐγεγόνει, ὃ δὴ τέως καραδοκοῦντες ἐκά-
θηντο, ἀράμενοί τε τὰ ἱστία καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ἀφέλ-
κοντες ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἀνδρῶν κενά, ὥσπερ μοι πρό-
τερον εἴρηται, παρεσκεύαστο, ἔπλεον ἐπὶ τοὺς
18 πολεμίους. ὡς δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, πῦρ ἐν τοῖς
πλοίοις ἐνθέμενοι, ἃ δὴ αὐτοὶ ἐφέλκοντες ἦγον,
κεκολπωμένων αὐτοῖς τῶν ἱστίων, ἀφῆκαν ἐπὶ
19 τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. ἅτε δὲ πλήθους
ὄντος ἐνταῦθα νηῶν, ὅπη τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα προσ-
πίπτοιεν,[1] ἔκαιόν τε ῥᾳδίως καὶ αὐτὰ[2] οἷς ἂν
20 συμμίξαιεν ἑτοίμως ξυνδιεφθείροντο.[3] οὕτω δὲ
τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπιφερομένου θόρυβός τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
εἶχε τὸν Ῥωμαίων στόλον[4] καὶ κραυγῆς μέγεθος
τῷ τε πνεύματι καὶ τῷ τῆς φλογὸς βόμβῳ ἀντι-
παταγούσης μάλιστα, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὁμοῦ
τοῖς ναύταις ἀλλήλοις[5] ἐγκελευομένων καὶ τοῖς
κοντοῖς διωθουμένων τά τε πυρφόρα πλοῖα καὶ
τὰς σφῶν αὐτῶν ναῦς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων διαφθειρο-
21 μένας οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. ἤδη δὲ καὶ οἱ Βανδίλοι
παρῆσαν ἐμβάλλοντές[6] τε καὶ καταδύοντες καὶ
αὐτοῖς ὅπλοις τοὺς διαφεύγοντας τῶν στρατιω-
22 τῶν ληιζόμενοι. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ

[1] προσπίπτοιεν P : παραπίπτοιεν O.
[2] αὐτὰ O : αὐτοὶ P, αὐτοῖς Grotius.
[3] ξυνδιεφθείροντο Haury : ξυνδιεφθείρετο MSS.
[4] εἶχε τὸν—στόλον P : ἦν ἐν τῷ—στόλῳ O.
[5] ἀλλήλοις P : ἀλλήλους τε O.
[6] ἐμβάλλοντές O : βάλλοντές P.

he had promised, or selling the moment of opportunity for money, or perhaps thinking it the better course, did as he was requested and remained quietly in the camp, awaiting the moment favourable to the enemy.

But the Vandals, as soon as the wind had arisen for them which they had been expecting during the time they lay at rest, raised their sails and, taking in tow the boats which, as has been stated above, they had made ready with no men in them, they sailed against the enemy. And when they came near, they set fire to the boats which they were towing, when their sails were bellied by the wind, and let them go against the Roman fleet. And since there were a great number of ships there, these boats easily spread fire wherever they struck, and were themselves readily destroyed together with those with which they came in contact. And as the fire advanced in this way the Roman fleet was filled with tumult, as was natural, and with a great din that rivalled the noise caused by the wind and the roaring of the flames, as the soldiers together with the sailors shouted orders to one another and pushed off with their poles the fire-boats and their own ships as well, which were being destroyed by one another in complete disorder. And already the Vandals too were at hand ramming and sinking the ships, and making booty of such of the soldiers as attempted to escape, and of their arms as well. But there were also some of the Romans who proved

Ῥωμαίων ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα Ἰωάννης, ὑποστράτηγός τε ὢν Βασιλίσκου καὶ οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν τῆς ἐκείνου
23 προδοσίας μεταλαχών. περιστάντος γὰρ ὁμίλου πολλοῦ τὴν αὐτοῦ ναῦν, ἔκτεινε μὲν ἐπιστροφάδην ἀπὸ τοῦ καταστρώματος πολύ τι τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος, ὡς δὲ ἁλισκομένης ᾔσθετο τῆς νεώς, ἥλατο[1] ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ ἀπὸ τῶν
24 ἰκρίων εἰς θάλασσαν. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ἐλιπάρει Γένζων ὁ Γιζερίχου, πιστά τε παρεχόμενος καὶ σωτηρίαν προτεινόμενος, ὁ δὲ οὐδὲν ἧσσον ἐς θάλασσαν καθῆκε τὸ σῶμα, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἀποφθεγξάμενος, ὡς οὐ μή ποτε Ἰωάννης ὑπὸ χερσὶ κυνῶν γένηται.

25 Ὁ μὲν δὴ πόλεμος οὗτος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτα καὶ Ἡράκλειος ἐπ' οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθη· Μαρκελλιανὸς γὰρ πρός του τῶν συναρχόντων ἀπώλετο δόλῳ.
26 Βασιλίσκος δὲ ἀφικόμενος ἐς Βυζάντιον ἱκέτης ἐκάθητο ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν Χριστοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ (Σοφίαν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βυζάντιοι τὸν νεών, ταύτην δὴ μάλιστα τῷ θεῷ πρέπειν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἡγούμενοι), ἐξαιτησαμένης δὲ αὐτὸν[2] Βηρίνης τῆς βασιλίδος τὸν μὲν κίνδυνον τοῦτον διέφυγεν, ἐς βασιλείαν δὲ τότε παρελθεῖν, ἧς δὴ ἕνεκα πάντα
27 αὐτῷ εἴργαστο, οὐχ οἷός τε ἦν. Λέων γὰρ βασιλεὺς οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον Ἄσπαρά τε καὶ Ἀρδαβούριον ἐν παλατίῳ διέφθειρεν, ἐπεί οἱ θάνατον ἐπιβουλεύειν αὐτοὺς ὑπετόπησε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγένετο τῇδε.

[1] ἥλατο Hoeschel : ἥλλατο MSS. [2] αὐτὸν O : om. P.

themselves brave men in this struggle, and most of all John, who was a general under Basiliscus and who had no share whatever in his treason. For a great throng having surrounded his ship, he stood on the deck, and turning from side to side kept killing very great numbers of the enemy from there, and when he perceived that the ship was being captured, he leaped with his whole equipment of arms from the deck into the sea. And though Genzon, the son of Gizeric, entreated him earnestly not to do this, offering pledges and holding out promises of safety, he nevertheless threw himself into the sea, uttering this one word, that John would never come under the hands of dogs.

So this war came to an end, and Heracleius departed for home; for Marcellianus had been destroyed treacherously by one of his fellow-officers. And Basiliscus, coming to Byzantium, seated himself as a suppliant in the sanctuary of Christ the Great God ("Sophia"[1] the temple is called by the men of Byzantium who consider that this designation is especially appropriate to God), and although, by the intercession of Berine, the queen, he escaped this danger, he was not able at that time to reach the throne, the thing for the sake of which everything had been done by him. For the Emperor Leon not long afterwards destroyed both Aspar and Ardaburius 471 A.D.
in the palace, because he suspected that they were plotting against his life. Thus, then, did these events take place.

[1] *i.e.* "wisdom."

VII

Ἀνθέμιος δὲ ὁ τῶν δυσμῶν αὐτοκράτωρ πρὸς
τοῦ κηδεστοῦ Ῥεκίμερος διαφθαρεὶς ἐτελεύτα,
Ὀλύβριός τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκδεξάμενος[1] ὀλίγῳ
ὕστερον χρόνῳ τὴν ὁμοίαν πεπρωμένην ἀνέπλησε.
2 τελευτήσαντος δὲ καὶ Λέοντος ἐν Βυζαντίῳ, παρέ-
λαβε τὴν βασιλείαν Λέων ὁ Ζήνωνός τε καὶ
Ἀριάδνης τῆς Λέοντος θυγατρός, ἐς ἡμερῶν ἔτι
3 ὀλίγων που ἡλικίαν ἥκων. αἱρεθέντος δὲ ξυμ-
βασιλέως[2] αὐτῷ τοῦ πατρός, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ὁ
4 παῖς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. ἄξιον δὲ καὶ
Μαϊορίνου ἐπιμνησθῆναι, ὃς δὴ πρότερον ἔσχε τὸ
ἑσπέριον κράτος. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Μαϊορῖνος, ξύμ-
παντας τοὺς πώποτε Ῥωμαίων βεβασιλευκότας
ὑπεραίρων ἀρετῇ πάσῃ, τὸ Λιβύης πάθος οὐκ
ἤνεγκε πρᾴως, ἀλλὰ στρατιὰν ἐπὶ Βανδίλους
ἀξιολογωτάτην ἀγείρας ἐν Λιγούροις ἐγένετο,
αὐτὸς τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξηγεῖσθαι
5 διανοούμενος. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Μαϊορῖνος ἔς τε τοὺς
ἄλλους πόνους καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐς τοὺς κινδύνους
6 ἄοκνος κομιδῇ. οὐκ ἀξύμφορον δέ οἱ ἡγούμενος
εἶναι δύναμίν τε τὴν Βανδίλων καὶ τὸ Γιζερίχου
ἦθος διερευνήσασθαι πρότερον καὶ ὅπῃ ποτὲ
Μαυρούσιοί τε καὶ Λίβυες εὐνοίας τε ἢ ἔχθους
πέρι ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔχοιεν, οὐκ ἄλλοις τισὶ πιστεύειν
7 τὸ τοιοῦτον ἢ ὀφθαλμοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ[3] ἔγνω. πρεσ-

[1] ἐκδεξάμενος VP : διαδεξάμενος O.
[2] ξυμβασιλέως PO : ξυμβασιλεύειν V.
[3] ἔχοιεν—αὐτοῦ VO : κατέστησαν, αὐτὸς τοῦ τοιούτου ἔργου τελεστὴς γενέσθαι P.

VII

Now Anthemius, the emperor of the West, died at the hand of his son-in-law Rhecimer, and Olybrius, succeeding to the throne, a short time afterward suffered the same fate. And when Leon also had died in Byzantium, the imperial office was taken over by the younger Leon, the son of Zeno and Ariadne, the daughter of Leon, while he was still only a few days old. And his father having been chosen as partner in the royal power, the child forthwith passed from the world. Majorinus also deserves mention, who had gained the power of the West before this time. For this Majorinus, who surpassed in every virtue all who have ever been emperors of the Romans, did not bear lightly the loss of Libya, but collected a very considerable army against the Vandals and came to Liguria, intending himself to lead the army against the enemy. For Majorinus never showed the least hesitation before any task and least of all before the dangers of war. But thinking it not inexpedient for him to investigate first the strength of the Vandals and the character of Gizeric and to discover how the Moors and Libyans stood with regard to friendship or hostility toward the Romans, he decided to trust no eyes other than his own in such a matter. Accordingly he set out as

Aug. 11, 472 A.D.

Oct. 10, 472 A.D.

474 A.D.

βευτὴς οὖν ὡς δὴ ἐκ βασιλέως παρὰ τὸν Γιζέρι-
χον ἐστάλη, ἄλλο τι αὐτῷ ὄνομα ξυμπεπλασμένον
ἐπενεγκών. δείσας δὲ μὴ καταφανὴς γεγονὼς
αὐτός τε κακόν τι λάβῃ καὶ τὰ πρασσόμενα
8 διακωλύσῃ, μηχανᾶται τοιάδε. τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ
τρίχας (διαβόητοι γὰρ ἦσαν ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους
ὅτι δὴ οὕτω ξανθαὶ εἶεν ὥστε χρυσῷ ἀκιβδήλῳ
εἰκάζεσθαι) βαφῇ τινι χρίσας ἐς τοῦτο ἐξεπίτηδες
ἐξευρημένῃ ἐπὶ καιροῦ μεταβαλεῖν ἐς τὸ κυάνεον
9 παντελῶς ἴσχυσεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Γιζερίχῳ ἐς ὄψιν
ἦλθε, τά τε ἄλλα ὁ Γιζέριχος αὐτὸν ἐνεχείρει
δεδίσσεσθαι καὶ ἅτε φίλον ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς τὸ
οἴκημα ἦλθεν οὗ δὴ τὰ ὅπλα ξυνέκειτο πάντα,
πολλά τε καὶ ἀξιολογώτατα ὑπερφυῶς ὄντα.
10 ἐνταῦθά φασι τὰ ὅπλα κινηθέντα ἐκ τοῦ αὐτο-
μάτου πάταγον οὐ μέτριον[1] οὐδὲ τὸν τυχόντα
ἀφεῖναι, καὶ τότε μὲν τῷ Γιζερίχῳ σεισμόν τινα
γεγονέναι δοκεῖν, ἔξω δὲ γενομένῳ ἀμφί τε τῷ
σεισμῷ ἀναπυνθανομένῳ, ἐπεί οἱ τῶν ἄλλων
οὐδεὶς ὡμολόγει, θαῦμα μὲν ἐπιπεσεῖν μέγα, οὐ
11 μέντοι ξυμβαλεῖν τὸ γεγονὸς οἵῳ τε εἶναι. ὁ μὲν
οὖν Μαϊορῖνος διαπεπραγμένος ἅπερ ἐβούλετο
ἐπὶ Λιγουρίας ἀπεκομίσθη, καὶ τῷ στρατῷ πεζῇ
βαδίζοντι ἐξηγούμενος ἐπὶ στήλας τὰς Ἡρακλεί-
ους ᾔει, διαβαίνειν μὲν διανοούμενος τὸν ἐκείνῃ
πορθμόν, ὁδῷ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐνθένδε
12 ἰέναι. ὧνπερ ὁ Γιζέριχος αἰσθόμενος καὶ ὅτι δὴ
πρὸς Μαϊορίνου ἐν τῇ πρεσβείᾳ φενακισθείη, ἔς
τε ὀρρωδίαν ἐμπέπτωκε καὶ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον
13 ἐξηρτύετο. οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι τεκμηριούμενοι τῇ
Μαϊορίνου ἀρετῇ εὐέλπιδες ἤδη ἐγένοντο Λιβύην

[1] οὐ μέτριον VPO in marg. : οὐ μικρὸν O in context.

if an envoy from the emperor to Gizeric, assuming some fictitious name. And fearing lest, by becoming known, he should himself receive some harm and at the same time prevent the success of the enterprise, he devised the following scheme. His hair, which was famous among all men as being so fair as to resemble pure gold, he anointed with some kind of dye, which was especially invented for this purpose, and so succeeded completely in changing it for the time to a dark hue. And when he came before Gizeric, the barbarian attempted in many ways to terrify him, and in particular, while treating him with engaging attention, as if a friend, he brought him into the house where all his weapons were stored, a numerous and exceedingly noteworthy array. Thereupon they say that the weapons shook of their own accord and gave forth a sound of no ordinary or casual sort, and then it seemed to Gizeric that there had been an earthquake, but when he got outside and made enquiries concerning the earthquake, since no one else agreed with him, a great wonder, they say, came over him, but he was not able to comprehend the meaning of what had happened. So Majorinus, having accomplished the very things he wished, returned to Liguria, and leading his army on foot, came to the Pillars of Heracles, purposing to cross over the strait at that point, and then to march by land from there against Carthage. And when Gizeric became aware of this, and perceived that he had been tricked by Majorinus in the matter of the embassy, he became alarmed and made his preparations for war. And the Romans, basing their confidence on the valour of Majorinus, already began to have fair hopes of recovering Libya for the

14 τῇ ἀρχῇ ἀνασώσασθαι. ἀλλὰ μεταξὺ νόσῳ δυσ-
εντερίας ἁλοὺς ὁ Μαϊορῖνος διαφθείρεται, ἀνὴρ
τὰ μὲν εἰς τοὺς ὑπηκόους μέτριος γεγονώς, φοβε-
15 ρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ Νέπως δὲ τὴν
βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν ὀλίγας τε ἡμέρας ἐπιβιοὺς
ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, καὶ Γλυκέριος μετ' αὐτὸν ἐς
ταύτην δὴ προελθὼν τὴν ἀρχὴν τύχην τὴν ὁμοίαν
ἀνέπλησε. μεθ' ὃν δὴ Αὔγουστος τὴν αὐτοκρά-
16 τορα ἀρχὴν ἔλαβε. βασιλεῖς μέντοι καὶ ἄλλοι
πρότερον ἐν τῇ ἑσπερίᾳ γεγόνασιν, ὧνπερ τὰ
ὀνόματα ἐξεπιστάμενος ὡς ἥκιστα ἐπιμνήσομαι.
17 χρόνον τε γὰρ αὐτοῖς τῇ ἀρχῇ ὀλίγον τινὰ ἐπι-
βιῶναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ λόγου ἄξιον οὐδὲν πεπρα-
χέναι[1] ξυνέπεσε. ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ ἑσπερίᾳ
ἐγένετο.
18 Ἐν δὲ Βυζαντίῳ ὁ Βασιλίσκος (οὐ γὰρ ἔτι οἷός
τε ἦν τὸν ἔρωτα τῆς βασιλείας βιάζεσθαι) τυραν-
νίδι ἐπιθέμενος ἐκράτησεν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ, Ζήνωνος
ὁμοῦ τῇ γυναικὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰσαυρίαν, ἀφ' ἧς δὴ
19 ὡρμᾶτο, διαφυγόντος. ἔχοντι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν τυραν-
νίδα ἐνιαυτόν τε καὶ μῆνας ὀκτὼ οἵ τε ἄλλοι ὡς
εἰπεῖν ξύμπαντες καὶ οἱ τῆς αὐλῆς στρατιῶται
20 διὰ φιλοχρηματίας μέγεθος ἤχθοντο. ὧν δὴ
Ζήνων αἰσθόμενος στρατιάν τε ἀγείρας ἐπ' αὐτὸν
ᾔει. Βασιλίσκος δὲ στρατόν τε καὶ στρατηγὸν
Ἁρμάτον ὡς ἀντιταξόμενος[2] Ζήνωνι ἔπεμψεν.
21 ὡς δὲ πλησίον που ἀλλήλοις ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο,
παραδίδωσιν Ἁρμάτος Ζήνωνι τὸ αὑτοῦ στράτευ-
μα, ἐφ' ᾧ Βασιλίσκον τὸν αὐτοῦ υἱόν, κομιδῇ

[1] πεπραχέναι PO: πεπράχθαι V.
[2] ἀντιταξόμενος VO: ἀντιταξόμενον P.

empire. But meantime Majorinus was attacked by the disease of dysentery and died, a man who had 461 A.D. shewn himself moderate toward his subjects, and an object of fear to his enemies. And another emperor, July 24, 474 A.D. Nepos, upon taking over the empire, and living to enjoy it only a few days, died of disease, and Glycerius after him entered into this office and 474–475 A.D. suffered a similar fate. And after him Augustus assumed the imperial power. There were, moreover, still other emperors in the West before this time, but though I know their names well, I shall make no mention of them whatever. For it so fell out that they lived only a short time after attaining the office, and as a result of this accomplished nothing worthy of mention. Such was the course of events in the West.

But in Byzantium Basiliscus, being no longer able to master his passion for royal power, made an attempt to usurp the throne, and succeeded without difficulty, since Zeno, together with his wife, sought refuge in Isauria, which was his native home. And 475 A.D. while he was maintaining his tyranny for a year and eight months he was detested by practically everyone and in particular by the soldiers of the court on account of the greatness of his avarice. And Zeno, perceiving this, collected an army and came against him. And Basiliscus sent an army under the general Harmatus in order to array himself against Zeno. But when they had made camp near one another, Harmatus surrendered his army to Zeno, on the condition that Zeno should appoint as Caesar Harmatus' son Basilis-

ὄντα παῖδα νέον,[1] Καίσαρά τε καταστήσεσθαι καὶ τελευτῶντι διάδοχον τῆς βασιλείας ἀπολιπεῖν.[2]
22 Βασιλίσκος δὲ πάντων ἔρημος γεγονὼς ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καταφεύγει οὗπερ καὶ πρότερον. καὶ αὐτὸν Ἀκάκιος, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἱερεύς, Ζήνωνι ἐνεχείρισεν, ἀσέβειάν τε αὐτῷ ἐπενεγκὼν καὶ ὡς πολλὰ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν δόγματος ξυνετάραξέ τε καὶ ἐνεόχμωσεν, ἐς τὴν Εὐτυχοῦς αἵρεσιν ἀποκλίνας. καὶ ἦν
23 δὲ οὕτως. Ζήνων δὲ αὖθις τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἐς Ἁρμάτον πίστιν ἀφοσιούμενος Βασιλίσκον τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα Καίσαρα καταστησάμενος, οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον αὐτόν τε ἀφείλετο
24 τὴν τιμὴν καὶ Ἁρμάτον ἔκτεινε. Βασιλίσκον δὲ ὁμοῦ τοῖς τε παισὶ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ πέμψας ἐς Καππαδοκίαν χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ σιτίων τε καὶ ἱματίων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας ἐρήμους ἐκέλευσεν
25 εἶναι. ἔνθα δὴ ψύχει τε καὶ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι ἔς τε ἀλλήλους καταφεύγουσι καὶ τὰ φίλτατα περιβαλόντες σώματα διεφθάρησαν. αὕτη τε Βασιλίσκον τῶν πεπολιτευμένων κατέλαβε τίσις. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο.

26 Γιζέριχος δὲ τότε ἀπάτῃ τε περιελθὼν καὶ κατὰ κράτος ἐξελάσας, ὡς πρόσθεν εἴρηται, τοὺς πολεμίους, οὐδέν τι ἧσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἦγέ τε τὰ Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἔφερε ξύμπαντα, ἕως αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἀφίκετο σπονδαί τε αὐτοῖς ἀπέραντοι ξυνετέθησαν, μήτε Βανδίλους πολέμιόν τι ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα Ῥωμαίους ἐργάσασθαι μήτε αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἐκείνων ξυμβῆναι. ταύτας τε τὰς σπονδὰς Ζήνων τε αὐτὸς διεσώσατο

[1] νέον V : om. P, νήπιον O.
[2] ἀπολιπεῖν VP : καταλιπεῖν O.

cus, who was a very young child, and leave him as successor to the throne upon his death. And Basiliscus, deserted by all, fled for refuge to the same sanctuary as formerly. And Acacius, the priest of the city, put him into the hands of Zeno, charging him with impiety and with having brought great confusion and many innovations into the Christian doctrine, having inclined toward the heresy of Eutyches. And this was so. And after Zeno had thus taken over the empire a second time, he carried out his pledge to Harmatus formally by appointing his son Basiliscus Caesar, but not long afterwards he both stripped him of the office and put Harmatus to death. And he sent Basiliscus together with his children and his wife into Cappadocia in the winter season, commanding that they should be destitute of food and clothes and every kind of care. And there, being hard pressed by both cold and hunger, they took refuge in one another's arms, and embracing their loved ones, perished. And this punishment overtook Basiliscus for the policy he had pursued. These things, however, happened in later times.

But at that time Gizeric was plundering the whole Roman domain just as much as before, if not more, circumventing his enemy by craft and driving them out of their possessions by force, as has been previously said, and he continued to do so until the emperor Zeno came to an agreement with him and an endless peace was established between them, by which it was provided that the Vandals should never in all time perform any hostile act against the Romans nor suffer such a thing at their hands. And this peace was preserved by Zeno himself and

καὶ ὃς μετ' ἐκεῖνον τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν
27 Ἀναστάσιος. διέμειναν δὲ καὶ ἐς Ἰουστῖνον
αὐτοκράτορα. τούτου δὲ Ἰουστίνου ἀδελφιδοῦς
28 ὢν Ἰουστινιανὸς διεδέξατο[1] τὴν βασιλείαν· ἐπὶ
τούτου Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλεύοντος ὁ πόλεμος
κατέστη ὅδε, τρόπῳ ᾧ ἐν τοῖς ὄπισθεν λελέξεται
29 λόγοις. χρόνον δὲ ὀλίγον Γιζέριχος ἐπιβιοὺς
ἐτελεύτα πόρρω που ἤδη ἡλικίας ἥκων, διαθήκας
διαθέμενος ἐν αἷς ἄλλα τε πολλὰ Βανδίλοις
ἐπέσκηψε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀεὶ Βανδίλων ἐς
τοῦτον ἰέναι ὃς ἂν ἐκ γόνου ἄρρενος αὐτῷ Γιζε-
ρίχῳ κατὰ γένος προσήκων πρῶτος ὢν ἁπάντων
30 τῶν αὐτοῦ ξυγγενῶν τὴν ἡλικίαν τύχοι. Γιζέριχος
μὲν οὖν ἄρξας Βανδίλων ἐπειδὴ Καρχηδόνος
ἐκράτησεν ἔτη ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐτελεύτησεν,
ὥσπερ εἴρηται.

VIII

Ὁνώριχος δέ, ὁ τῶν ἐκείνου παίδων πρεσβύ-
τατος, διεδέξατο τὴν ἀρχήν, Γένζωνος ἤδη ἐξ
ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθέντος. ἐπὶ τούτου Ὁνωρίχου
Βανδίλων ἄρχοντος πόλεμος αὐτοῖς πρὸς οὐδένα
2 ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ ἐς Μαυρουσίους, ἐγένετο. δέει
γὰρ τῷ ἐκ Γιζερίχου ἡσυχάζοντες πρὸ τοῦ οἱ
Μαυρούσιοι, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐκποδὼν αὐτοῖς
ἐκεῖνος ἐγεγόνει, ἔδρασάν τε πολλὰ τοὺς Βαν-
3 δίλους κακὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔπαθον. γέγονε δὲ Ὁνώ-
ριχος ἐς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ Χριστιανοὺς ὠμότατός τε
4 καὶ ἀδικώτατος ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων. βιαζόμενος
γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν Ἀρειανῶν μετατίθεσθαι δόξαν,

[1] διεδέξατο PO : ἐδέξατο V.

also by his successor in the empire, Anastasius. And it remained in force until the time of the emperor Justinus. But Justinian, who was the nephew of Justinus, succeeded him in the imperial power, and it was in the reign of this Justinian that the war with which we are concerned came to pass, in the manner which will be told in the following narrative. Gizeric, after living on a short time, died at an 477 A.D. advanced age, having made a will in which he enjoined many things upon the Vandals and in particular that the royal power among them should always fall to that one who should be the first in years among all the male offspring descended from Gizeric himself. So Gizeric, having ruled over the Vandals thirty-nine years from the time when he captured Carthage, died, as I have said.

VIII

AND Honoric, the eldest of his sons, succeeded to the throne, Genzon having already departed from the world. During the time when this Honoric ruled the Vandals they had no war against anyone at all, except the Moors. For through fear of Gizeric the Moors had remained quiet before that time, but as soon as he was out of their way they both did much harm to the Vandals and suffered the same themselves. And Honoric shewed himself the most cruel and unjust of all men toward the Christians in Libya. For he forced them to change over to the Arian faith, and as many as he found not readily

ὅσους ἂν λάβοι οὐχ ἑτοίμως[1] αὐτῷ εἴκοντας,
ἔκαιέ τε καὶ ἄλλαις θανάτου ἰδέαις διέφθειρε,
πολλῶν δὲ καὶ τὰς γλώσσας ἀπέτεμεν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
φάρυγγος, οἳ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ περιόντες ἐν Βυζαντίῳ
ἐχρῶντο ἀκραιφνεῖ τῇ φωνῇ, οὐδ' ὁπωστιοῦν
ταύτης δὴ τῆς τιμωρίας ἐπαισθανόμενοι· ὧν δὴ
δύο, ἐπειδὴ γυναιξὶν ἑταίραις πλησιάζειν ἔγνωσαν,
5 οὐκέτι φθέγγεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν ἴσχυσαν. ἔτη τε
ὀκτὼ Βανδίλων ἄρξας ἐτελεύτησε νόσῳ, Μαυρου-
σίων ἤδη τῶν ἐν τῷ Αὐρασίῳ ὄρει ᾠκημένων[2]
ἀποστάντων τε ἀπὸ Βανδίλων καὶ αὐτονόμων
ὄντων (ἔστι δὲ τὸ Αὐράσιον ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ τριῶν
καὶ δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μάλιστα Καρχηδόνος
διέχον, τετραμμένον τε πρὸς μεσημβρίαν), οἳ
οὐκέτι ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις ἐγένοντο, οὐ δυναμένων[3]
Βανδίλων ἐν ὄρει δυσόδῳ τε καὶ ἀνάντει λίαν
πόλεμον πρὸς Μαυρουσίους διενεγκεῖν.
6 Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ὁνωρίχου τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων
κράτος ἐς Γουνδαμοῦνδον ἦλθε τὸν Γένζωνος τοῦ
Γιζερίχου. ἐς αὐτὸν γὰρ ὁ χρόνος ἔφερε τὰ
7 πρωτεῖα τοῦ Γιζερίχου γένους. οὗτος ὁ Γουνδα-
μοῦνδος πλείοσι μὲν πρὸς Μαυρουσίους ἐμαχέσατο
ξυμβολαῖς, μείζοσι δὲ τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ὑπα-
γαγὼν πάθεσιν ἐτελεύτησε νοσήσας, ἤδη που
8 μεσοῦντος τοῦ δωδεκάτου τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτους. ἀδελ-
φός τε αὐτοῦ Τρασαμοῦνδος παρέλαβε τὴν
βασιλείαν, εἴδους τε καὶ ξυνέσεως ἐς τὰ μάλιστα
9 καὶ μεγαλοψυχίας εὖ ἥκων. τοὺς μέντοι Χρισ-
τιανοὺς ἐβιάζετο μεταβαλέσθαι τὴν πάτριον
δόξαν, οὐκ αἰκιζόμενος τὰ σώματα ὥσπερ οἱ

[1] ἑτοίμως VO: ἑτοίμους P. [2] ᾠκημένων VP: κειμένων O.
[3] δυναμένων PO: γενομένων V.

yielding to him he burned, or destroyed by other forms of death; and he also cut off the tongues of many from the very throat, who even up to my time were going about in Byzantium having their speech uninjured, and perceiving not the least effect from this punishment; but two of these, since they saw fit to go in to harlots, were thenceforth no longer able to speak. And after ruling over the Vandals eight years he died of disease; and by that time the Moors dwelling on Mt. Aurasium[1] had revolted from the Vandals and were independent (this Aurasium is a mountain of Numidia, about thirteen days' journey distant from Carthage and fronting the south); and indeed they never came under the Vandals again, since the latter were unable to carry on a war against Moors on a mountain difficult of access and exceedingly steep.

After the death of Honoric the rule of the Vandals fell to Gundamundus, the son of Genzon, the son of 485 A.D.
Gizeric. For he, in point of years, was the first of the offspring of Gizeric. This Gundamundus fought against the Moors in numerous encounters, and after subjecting the Christians to still greater suffering, he died of disease, being now at about the middle of the twelfth year of his reign. And his brother Trasa- 496 A.D.
mundus took over the kingdom, a man well-favoured in appearance and especially gifted with discretion and highmindedness. However he continued to force the Christians to change their ancestral faith, not by torturing their bodies as his predecessors had

[1] Jebel Auress.

πρότεροι, ἀλλὰ τιμαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς μετιὼν καὶ
χρήμασι μεγάλοις δωρούμενος, καὶ τοὺς ἀπειθοῦν-
τας, ὁποῖοί ποτε εἶεν, ἥκιστά γε εἰδέναι ποιού-
10 μενος. εἰ δέ τινας λάβοι μεγάλοις ἁμαρτήμασιν
ἐνόχους ἢ τύχῃ ἢ γνώμῃ γεγενημένους, τούτοις
δὴ[1] μεταβαλλομένοις τὴν δόξαν μισθὸν προὐ-
11 τίθει μὴ δοῦναι τὴν δίκην ὧν ἥμαρτον. ἐπειδὴ
δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἐτελεύτα, οὐ γενομένη μήτηρ οὔτε
ἄρσενος οὔτε θήλεος γόνου, κρατῦναι ὡς ἄριστα
τὴν βασιλείαν βουλόμενος, ἐς Θευδέριχον τὸν
Γότθων βασιλέα πέμψας ᾔτει οἱ γυναῖκα τὴν
ἀδελφὴν Ἀμαλαφρίδαν διδόναι, ἧς δὴ ἄρτι ὁ ἀνὴρ
12 ἐτεθνήκει. ὁ δέ οἱ καὶ τὴν[2] ἀδελφὴν ἔπεμψε καὶ
Γότθων δοκίμων χιλίους ἐν δορυφόρων λόγῳ, οἷς
δὴ ὅμιλος θεραπείας εἵπετο ἐς πέντε μάλιστα
13 χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν μαχίμων. ἐδωρήσατο δὲ τὴν
ἀδελφὴν Θευδέριχος καὶ τῶν Σικελίας[3] ἀκρω-
τηρίων τριῶν[4] ὄντων ἑνί, ὃ δὴ καλοῦσι Λιλύ-
βαιον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔδοξεν ὁ Τρασαμοῦνδος
πάντων δὴ τῶν ἐν Βανδίλοις ἡγησαμένων κρείσ-
14 σων τε εἶναι καὶ δυνατώτατος. ἐγένετο δὲ φίλος
καὶ Ἀναστασίῳ βασιλεῖ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. ἐπὶ
τούτου βασιλεύοντος ξυνέπεσε Βανδίλοις πάθος
τι παθεῖν πρὸς Μαυρουσίων οἷον οὔπω πρὸ τοῦ
ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

15 Καβάων ἦν τις ἄρχων τῶν ἀμφὶ Τρίπολιν
Μαυρουσίων, πολέμων τε πολλῶν ἔμπειρος καὶ
λίαν ἀγχίνους. οὗτος ὁ Καβάων ἐπειδὴ ἐπ'
αὐτὸν στρατεύεσθαι Βανδίλους ἐπύθετο, ἐποίει

[1] δὴ Hoeschel : δὲ MSS. [2] καὶ τὴν O : καὶ om. P.
[3] σικελίας PO pr. m. : ἐν σικελίᾳ O pr. m. corr.
[4] τριῶν added by Haury.

done, but by seeking to win them with honours and offices and presenting them with great sums of money; and in the case of those who would not be persuaded, he pretended he had not the least knowledge of what manner of men they were.[1] And if he caught any guilty of great crimes which they had committed either by accident or deliberate intent, he would offer such men, as a reward for changing their faith, that they should not be punished for their offences. And when his wife died without becoming the mother of either male or female offspring, wishing to establish the kingdom as securely as possible, he sent to Theoderic, the king of the Goths, asking him to give him his sister Amalafrida to wife, for her husband had just died. And Theoderic sent him not only his sister but also a thousand of the notable Goths as a bodyguard, who were followed by a host of attendants amounting to about five thousand fighting men. And Theoderic also presented his sister with one of the promontories of Sicily, which are three in number,—the one which they call Lilybaeum,—and as a result of this Trasamundus was accounted the strongest and most powerful of all those who had ruled over the Vandals. He became also a very special friend of the emperor Anastasius. It was during the reign of Trasamundus that it came about that the Vandals suffered a disaster at the hands of the Moors such as had never befallen them before that time.

There was a certain Cabaon ruling over the Moors of Tripolis, a man experienced in many wars and exceedingly shrewd. This Cabaon, upon learning that the Vandals were marching against him, did as

[1] *i.e.* to what sect or religion they belonged.

16 τοιάδε. πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐπήγγελλεν
ἀδικίας τε πάσης καὶ βρώσεως ἐς τρυφὴν ἀγούσης
καὶ πάντων μάλιστα γυναικῶν ξυνουσίας ἀπέ-
χεσθαι· χαρακώματά τε δύο πηξάμενος ἐν θατέρῳ
μὲν αὐτὸς ξὺν πᾶσιν ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο τοῖς
ἀνδράσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὰς γυναῖκας
καθεῖρξε, θάνατόν τε τὴν ζημίαν ἠπείλησεν ἔσε-
σθαι, ἤν τις ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν χαράκωμα ἴοι.
17 μετὰ δὲ πέμψας ἐς Καρχηδόνα κατασκόπους
ἐπέταττε τάδε· ἐπειδὰν οἱ Βανδίλοι ἐπὶ τὴν
στρατείαν[1] βαδίζοντες ἔς τινα νεὼν ὑβρίσωσιν
ὃν οἱ Χριστιανοὶ σέβονται, αὐτοὺς μὲν ἐφορᾶν τὰ
γινόμενα· ἢν δὲ οἱ Βανδίλοι τὸ χωρίον ἀμείψωσιν,
ἅπαντα ποιεῖν τἀναντία ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ὧν ἐκεῖνοι
18 δράσαντες οἴχονται. ἐπειπεῖν δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τοῦτό
φασιν, ὡς ἀγνοοίη μὲν τὸν θεὸν ὃν Χριστιανοὶ
σέβονται, εἰκὸς δὲ αὐτόν,[2] εἴπερ ἰσχυρός ἐστιν, ὡς
λέγεται, τίσασθαι μὲν τοὺς ὑβρίζοντας, ἀμῦναι
19 δὲ τοῖς θεραπεύουσιν. οἱ μὲν οὖν κατάσκοποι ἐς
Καρχηδόνα ἐλθόντες ἡσύχαζον,[3] τὴν παρασκευὴν
τῶν Βανδίλων θεώμενοι· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα
τὴν ἐπὶ Τρίπολιν ᾔεσαν,[4] σχήματα περιβεβλη-
20 μένοι ταπεινὰ εἵποντο. οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι ὡς ἡμέρᾳ
τῇ πρώτῃ ηὐλίσαντο, ἐς τῶν Χριστιανῶν τοὺς
νεὼς τούς τε ἵππους τά τε ἄλλα ζῷα ἐσαγαγόντες,
ὕβρεώς τε οὐδεμιᾶς ἀπελείποντο καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκο-
λασίᾳ τῇ σφετέρᾳ ἐχρήσαντο, τούς τε ἱερέας, οὓς
ἂν λάβοιεν, ἐρράπιζόν τε καὶ ξαίνοντες κατὰ τοῦ
νώτου πολλὰς ὑπηρετεῖν σφίσιν ἐκέλευον ὅσα δὴ

[1] στρατείαν Euagrius : στρατιὰν MSS.
[2] αὐτὸν MSS. : αὐτόν, φησίν Euagrius.
[3] ἡσύχαζον MSS. : ἐσχόλαζον Euagrius.
[4] ᾔεσαν Euagrius : ᾔει MSS.

follows. First of all he issued orders to his subjects to abstain from all injustice and from all foods tending towards luxury and most of all from association with women; and setting up two palisaded enclosures, he encamped himself with all the men in one, and in the other he shut the women, and he threatened that death would be the penalty if anyone should go to the women's palisade. And after this he sent spies to Carthage with the following instructions: whenever the Vandals in going forth on the expedition should offer insult to any temple which the Christians reverence, they were to look on and see what took place; and when the Vandals had passed the place, they were to do the opposite of everything which the Vandals had done to the sanctuary before their departure. And they say that he added this also, that he was ignorant of the God whom the Christians worshipped, but it was probable that if He was powerful, as He was said to be, He should wreak vengeance upon those who insulted Him and defend those who honoured Him. So the spies came to Carthage and waited quietly, observing the preparation of the Vandals; but when the army set out on the march to Tripolis, they followed, clothing themselves in humble garb. And the Vandals, upon making camp the first day, led their horses and their other animals into the temples of the Christians, and sparing no insult, they acted with all the unrestrained lawlessness natural to them, beating as many priests as they caught and lashing them with many blows over the back and commanding them to render such service to the Vandals as they were accustomed to assign to

ἐπέχειν τῶν οἰκετῶν τοῖς ἀτιμοτάτοις εἰώθεσαν.
21 καὶ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνθένδε ἀπηλλάγησαν, ἐποί-
ουν οἱ τοῦ Καβάωνος κατάσκοποι ὅσα αὐτοῖς
ἐπετέτακτο· τά τε γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐκάθηραν αὐτίκα τήν
τε κόπρον καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο οὐχ ὁσίως ἐπέκειτο ξὺν
ἐπιμελείᾳ πολλῇ ἀφελόμενοι, τά τε λύχνα ἔκαυ-
σαν ἅπαντα καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας αἰδοῖ τε πολλῇ
προσεκύνησαν καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἠσπά-
22 σαντο· ἀργύριά τε τοῖς πτωχοῖς[1] δόντες οἳ ἀμφὶ
τὰ ἱερὰ ταῦτα ἐκάθηντο, οὕτω δὴ τῇ τῶν Βαν-
23 δίλων στρατιᾷ εἵποντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου κατὰ
τὴν ὁδὸν ξύμπασαν οἵ τε Βανδίλοι κατὰ ταὐτὰ
24 ἡμάρτανον καὶ οἱ κατάσκοποι ἐθεράπευον. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἔσεσθαι ἔμελλον, προτερήσαντες οἱ
κατάσκοποι ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ Καβάωνι ὅσα Βαν-
δίλοις τε καὶ σφίσιν ἐς τὰ Χριστιανῶν ἱερὰ
25 εἴργαστο καὶ ὡς ἐγγύς που οἱ πολέμιοι εἶεν. ὁ δὲ
ἀκούσας ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν καθίστατο ὧδε. κύκλον
ἀπολαβὼν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἔνθα δὴ τὸ χαράκωμα
ποιεῖσθαι ἔμελλε, τὰς καμήλους ἔρυμα τῷ στρα-
τοπέδῳ ἐγκαρσίας ἐν κύκλῳ καθίστη, κατὰ δώ-
δεκα μάλιστα καμήλους ποιησάμενος τὸ τοῦ
26 μετώπου βάθος. παῖδας μὲν οὖν καὶ γυναῖκας
καὶ εἴ τι αὐτοῖς ἀπόμαχον ἦν ὁμοῦ τοῖς χρήμασιν
ἐς μέσον ἐτίθετο, τὸν δὲ τῶν μαχίμων λεὼν ἐς
τῶν ζῴων ἐκείνων τοὺς πόδας ἐν μέσῳ φραξα-
27 μένους ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐκέλευεν εἶναι.[2] οὕτω δὲ
Μαυρουσίοις ἐχούσης τῆς φάλαγγος οἱ Βανδίλοι
ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχον θέσθαι τὸ παρόν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀκον-
τισταὶ οὔτε τοξόται ἀγαθοὶ ἦσαν οὔτε πεζοὶ ἐς

[1] πτωχοῖς VO Euagrius : πολλοῖς P.
[2] εἶναι MSS. : ἰέναι Dindorf.

the most dishonoured of their domestics. And as soon as they had departed from there, the spies of Cabaon did as they had been directed to do; for they straightway cleansed the sanctuaries and took away with great care the filth and whatever other unholy thing lay in them, and they lighted all the lamps and bowed down before the priests with great reverence and saluted them with all friendliness; and after giving pieces of silver to the poor who sat about these sanctuaries, they then followed after the army of the Vandals. And from then on along the whole route the Vandals continued to commit the same offences and the spies to render the same service. And when they were coming near the Moors, the spies anticipated them and reported to Cabaon what had been done by the Vandals and by themselves to the temples of the Christians, and that the enemy were somewhere near by. And Cabaon, upon learning this, arranged for the encounter as follows. He marked off a circle in the plain where he was about to make his palisade, and placed his camels turned sideways in a circle as a protection for the camp, making his line fronting the enemy about twelve camels deep. Then he placed the children and the women and all those who were unfit for fighting together with their possessions in the middle, while he commanded the host of fighting men to stand between the feet of those animals, covering themselves with their shields.[1] And since the phalanx of the Moors was of such a sort, the Vandals were at a loss how to handle the situation; for they were neither good with the javelin nor with the bow, nor did they know how to go into battle

[1] Cf. Book IV. xi. 17 ff.

μάχην ἰέναι ἠπίσταντο, ἀλλ᾿ ἱππεῖς τε ἦσαν ἅπαντες, δόρασί τε ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ ξίφεσιν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ ἄποθέν τε οὐδὲν ἐργάζεσθαι κακὸν τοὺς πολεμίους οἷοί τε ἦσαν, ἥ τε ἵππος αὐτοῖς ἀχθομένη τῇ τῶν καμήλων ὄψει,
28 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἥκιστα ἤγετο. ἐπειδή τε συχνὰ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἀκοντίζοντες ἐκ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς οἱ πολέμιοι τούς τε ἵππους καὶ αὐτούς, ἅτε πλῆθος ὄντας,[1] οὐ χαλεπῶς ἔκτεινον, ἔφευγόν τε καὶ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἐπεξιόντων οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ διεφθάρησαν, εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐγένοντο, ὀλίγοι τε κομιδῇ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοῦ τούτου
29 ἐπ᾿ οἴκου ἀπεκομίσθησαν. ταῦτα μὲν Τρασαμούνδῳ παθεῖν πρὸς Μαυρουσίων ξυνέπεσεν. ἐτελεύτα δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ἑπτά τε καὶ εἴκοσιν ἔτη Βανδίλων ἄρξας.

IX

Ἰλδέριχος δὲ Ὀνωρίχου τοῦ Γιζερίχου παῖς τὴν βασιλείαν παρέλαβεν, ὃς τὰ μὲν ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους εὐπρόσοδός τε ἦν καὶ ὅλως[2] πρᾷος, καὶ οὔτε Χριστιανοῖς οὔτε τῳ ἄλλῳ χαλεπὸς ἐγεγόνει, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον μαλθακός τε λίαν καὶ οὐδὲ ἄχρι ἐς τὰ ὦτα τὸ πρᾶγμά οἱ τοῦτο ἐθέλων ἰέναι.
2 Ὀάμερ γοῦν ἀνεψιός τε ὢν αὐτῷ[3] καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς τὰ πολέμια ἐστρατήγει ἐφ᾿ οὓς ἂν στρατεύοιντο Βανδίλοι· ὃν δὴ καὶ Ἀχιλλέα Βανδίλων
3 ἐκάλουν. ἐπὶ τούτου Ἰλδερίχου ἡσσήθησάν τε μάχῃ οἱ Βανδίλοι πρὸς Μαυρουσίων τῶν ἐν

[1] πλῆθος ὄντας Haury: πλῆθος ὄντες V, πλήθους ὄντος PO.
[2] καὶ ὅλως Haury: καὶ ὅλος VP, ὅλος O.
[3] αὐτῷ VP: αὐτοῦ O.

on foot, but they were all horsemen, and used spears and swords for the most part, so that they were unable to do the enemy any harm at a distance; and their horses, annoyed at the sight of the camels, refused absolutely to be driven against the enemy. And since the Moors, by hurling javelins in great numbers among them from their safe position, kept killing both their horses and men without difficulty, because they were a vast throng, they began to flee, and, when the Moors came out against them, the most of them were destroyed, while some fell into the hands of the enemy; and an exceedingly small number from this army returned home. Such was the fortune which Trasamundus suffered at the hands of the Moors. And he died at a later time, having ruled over the Moors twenty-seven years.

IX

AND Ilderic, the son of Honoric, the son of Gizeric, next received the kingdom, a ruler who was easily approached by his subjects and altogether gentle, and he shewed himself harsh neither to the Christians nor to anyone else, but in regard to affairs of war he was a weakling and did not wish this thing even to come to his ears. Hoamer, accordingly, his nephew and an able warrior, led the armies against any with whom the Vandals were at war; he it was whom they called the Achilles of the Vandals. During the reign of this Ilderic the Vandals were defeated in Byzacium by the Moors, 523 A.D.

Βυζακίῳ, ὧν ἦρχεν Ἀντάλας, καὶ σφίσι ξυνηνέχθη Θευδερίχῳ τε καὶ Γότθοις ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔκ
4 τε συμμάχων καὶ φίλων πολεμίοις γενέσθαι. τήν τε γὰρ Ἀμαλαφρίδαν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχον καὶ τοὺς Γότθους διέφθειραν ἅπαντας, ἐπενεγκόντες αὐτοῖς
5 νεωτερίζειν ἔς τε Βανδίλους καὶ Ἰλδέριχον. τίσις μέντοι οὐδεμία πρὸς Θευδερίχου ἐγένετο, ἐπεὶ ἀδύνατος ἐνόμισεν εἶναι στόλῳ μεγάλῳ ἐς Λιβύην στρατεῦσαι, Ἰλδέριχος δὲ φίλος ἐς τὰ μάλιστα Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ ξένος ἐγένετο, οὔπω μὲν ἥκοντι ἐς βασιλείαν, διοικουμένῳ δὲ αὐτὴν κατ' ἐξουσίαν, ἐπεί οἱ ὁ θεῖος Ἰουστῖνος ὑπέργηρώς τε ὢν ἐβασίλευε καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν πραγμάτων οὐ παντελῶς ἔμπειρος. χρήμασί τε μεγάλοις ἀλλήλους ἐδωροῦντο.

6 Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τῷ Γιζερίχου γένει Γελίμερ ὁ Γειλάριδος τοῦ Γένζωνος τοῦ Γιζερίχου πόρρω που ἡλικίας ἥκων μετά γε Ἰλδέριχον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπίδοξος ὢν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν
7 ἀφίξεσθαι· ὃς τὰ μὲν πολέμια ἐδόκει τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν ἄριστος εἶναι, ἄλλως δὲ δεινός τε ἦν καὶ κακοήθης καὶ πράγμασί τε νεωτέροις[1] καὶ χρήμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι ἀλλοτρίοις ἐξεπιστάμενος.
8 οὗτος ὁ Γελίμερ ἐπεί οἱ μέλλουσαν ἑώρα τὴν ἀρχήν, οὐκ ἐδύνατο ἐν τῷ καθεστῶτι τρόπῳ βιοτεύειν, ἀλλὰ τὰ βασιλέως ἔργα προσποιησάμενος ἐπεβάτευε τῆς τιμῆς, ἀώρου γε αὐτῷ οὔσης· καὶ Ἰλδερίχου δι' ἐπιείκειαν ἐνδιδόντος κατέχειν οὐκέτι οἷός τε ἦν τὴν διάνοιαν, ἀλλὰ Βανδίλων ἑταιρισάμενος εἴ τι ἄριστον ἦν, ἀναπείθει ἀφελέσθαι μὲν Ἰλδέριχον τὴν βασιλείαν, ὡς ἀπόλεμόν

[1] νεωτέροις PO: καινοτέροις V.

who were ruled by Antalas, and it so fell out that they became enemies instead of allies and friends to Theoderic and the Goths in Italy. For they put Amalafrida in prison and destroyed all the Goths, charging them with revolutionary designs against the Vandals and Ilderic. However, no revenge came from Theoderic, for he considered himself unable to gather a great fleet and make an expedition into Libya, and Ilderic was a very particular friend and guest-friend of Justinian, who had not yet come to the throne, but was administering the government according to his pleasure; for his uncle Justinus, who was emperor, was very old and not altogether experienced in matters of state. And Ilderic and Justinian made large presents of money to each other.

Now there was a certain man in the family of Gizeric, Gelimer, the son of Geilaris, the son of Genzon, the son of Gizeric, who was of such age as to be second only to Ilderic, and for this reason he was expected to come into the kingdom very soon. This man was thought to be the best warrior of his time, but for the rest he was a cunning fellow and base at heart and well versed in undertaking revolutionary enterprises and in laying hold upon the money of others. Now this Gelimer, when he saw the power coming to him, was not able to live in his accustomed way, but assumed to himself the tasks of a king and usurped the rule, though it was not yet due him; and since Ilderic in a spirit of friendliness gave in to him, he was no longer able to restrain his thoughts, but allying with himself all the noblest of the Vandals, he persuaded them to wrest the kingdom from Ilderic, as being an un-

*τε καὶ ἡσσημένον πρὸς Μαυρουσίων, καὶ Ἰου-
στίνῳ βασιλεῖ καταπροδιδόντα τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων
κράτος, ὡς μὴ ἐς αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης οἰκίας ὄντα
ἡ βασιλεία ἥκοι· τοῦτο γάρ οἱ βούλεσθαι τὴν ἐς
Βυζάντιον πρεσβείαν διέβαλλεν, αὐτῷ δὲ παραδι-
δόναι τὸ Βανδίλων κράτος. οἱ δὲ ἀναπεισθέντες
9 κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. οὕτω δὴ Γελίμερ τῆς ἡγε-
μονίας ἐπιλαβόμενος Ἰλδέριχόν τε, ἕβδομον ἔτος
Βανδίλων ἄρξαντα, καὶ Ὁάμερα καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν
Εὐαγέην ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχεν.*

*10 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσεν, ἤδη τὴν
βασιλείαν παραλαβών, πρέσβεις ἐς Λιβύην ὡς*[1]
*Γελίμερα πέμψας ἔγραψε τάδε· "Οὐχ ὅσια ποιεῖς
οὐδὲ τῶν Γιζερίχου διαθηκῶν ἄξια, γέροντά τε
καὶ ξυγγενῆ καὶ βασιλέα Βανδίλων, εἴ τι τῶν
Γιζερίχῳ βεβουλευμένων ὄφελός ἐστιν, ἐν φυ-
λακῇ ἔχων, καὶ βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρούμενος,
ἐξὸν αὐτὴν ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον χρόνῳ κατὰ νόμον
11 λαβεῖν. μήτε*[2] *οὖν ἐργάσῃ περαιτέρω κακὸν
μήτε*[3] *τοῦ βασιλέως ὀνόματος ἀνταλλάξῃ τὴν τοῦ
τυράννου προσηγορίαν, βραχεῖ προτερεύουσαν*[4]
*12 χρόνῳ. ἀλλὰ τοῦτον μέν, ἄνδρα ὅσον οὔπω τεθνη-
ξόμενον, ἔα φέρεσθαι τῷ λόγῳ τὴν τῆς βασιλείας
εἰκόνα, σὺ δὲ ἅπαντα πρᾶττε ὅσα βασιλέα πράτ-
τειν εἰκός· προσδέχου τε ἀπὸ τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τοῦ
Γιζερίχου νόμου μόνον λαβεῖν τὸ τοῦ πράγματος
13 ὄνομα. ταῦτα γάρ σοι ποιοῦντι τά τε ἀπὸ τοῦ
κρείττονος εὐμενῆ ἔσται καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν φίλια."*

[1] *ὡς* VO : *πρὸς* P.
[2] *μήτε οὖν* Haury : *μὴ δὲ οὖν* VP, *μηδὲν οὖν* O.
[3] *μήτε* Haury : *μὴ δὲ* MSS.
[4] *προτερεύουσαν* VP : *προτερεύσας* O.

warlike king who had been defeated by the Moors, and as betraying the power of the Vandals into the hand of the Emperor Justinus, in order that the kingdom might not come to him, because he was of the other branch of the family; for he asserted slanderously that this was the meaning of Ilderic's embassy to Byzantium, and that he was giving over the empire of the Vandals to Justinus. And they, being persuaded, carried out this plan. Thus Gelimer seized the supreme power, and imprisoned 530 A.D.
Ilderic, after he had ruled over the Vandals seven years, and also Hoamer and his brother Euagees.

But when Justinian heard these things, having already received the imperial power, he sent envoys 527 A.D.
to Gelimer in Libya with the following letter: "You are not acting in a holy manner nor worthily of the will of Gizeric, keeping in prison an old man and a kinsman and the king of the Vandals (if the counsels of Gizeric are to be of effect), and robbing him of his office by violence, though it would be possible for you to receive it after a short time in a lawful manner. Do you therefore do no further wrong and do not exchange the name of king for the title of tyrant, which comes but a short time earlier. But as for this man, whose death may be expected at any moment, allow him to bear in appearance the form of royal power, while you do all the things which it is proper that a king should do; and wait until you can receive from time and the law of Gizeric, and from them alone, the name which belongs to the position. For if you do this, the attitude of the Almighty will be favourable and at the same time our relations with you will be friendly."

14 Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ γραφὴ ἐδήλου. Γελίμερ δὲ τοὺς
πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπέπεμψε, καὶ τόν τε Ὀά-
μερα ἐξετύφλωσε τόν τε Ἰλδέριχον καὶ Εὐαγέην
ἐν μείζονι φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο, ἐπικαλέσας φυγὴν
15 ἐς Βυζάντιον μελετᾶν. ὡς δὲ καὶ ταῦτα βασιλεὺς
Ἰουστινιανὸς ἤκουσε, πρέσβεις ἑτέρους πέμψας
ἔγραψε τάδε "Ἡμεῖς μὲν οἰόμενοί σε οὔποτε τῆς
ἡμετέρας συμβουλῆς ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἥξειν ἐγράψα-
16 μέν σοι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν προτέραν. ἐπεὶ δὲ
ἀρέσκει σοι τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτω κεκτῆσθαι ὡς
νῦν ἔχεις λαβών, ἀπόλαβε[1] ὅ τι ἂν ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ
17 δαίμων διδῷ. σὺ δὲ Ἰλδέριχόν τε καὶ Ὀάμερα
τὸν πηρὸν καὶ τούτου τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς ἡμᾶς
πέμπε, παραψυχὴν ἕξοντας ἣν ἔχειν εἰσὶ δυνατοὶ
18 ὅσοι τὴν βασιλείαν ἢ τὴν ὄψιν ἀφήρηνται· ὡς οὐκ
ἐπιτρέψομέν γε, ἢν μὴ ταῦτα ποιῇς. ἐνάγει γὰρ
ἡμᾶς ἡ ἐλπὶς ἣν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλίαν ἔσχον.
19 αἵ τε σπονδαὶ ἡμῖν αἱ πρὸς Γιζέριχον ἐκποδὼν
στήσονται. τῷ γὰρ ἐκδεξαμένῳ τὴν ἐκείνου
βασιλείαν ἐρχόμεθα οὐ πολεμήσοντες, ἀλλὰ τὰ
δυνατὰ τιμωρήσοντες."
20 Ταῦτα Γελίμερ ἀναλεξάμενος ἠμείβετο τοῖσδε
"Βασιλεὺς Γελίμερ Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ. οὔτε
βίᾳ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔλαβον οὔτε τί μοι ἀνόσιον ἐς
21 ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς ἐμοὺς εἴργασται. Ἰλδέριχον γὰρ
νεώτερα πράσσοντα ἐς[2] οἶκον τὸν Γιζερίχου
καθεῖλε τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων ἔθνος· ἐμὲ δὲ ὁ χρόνος
ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν ἐκάλεσε, κατά γε τὸν νόμον τὰ
22 πρεσβεῖα διδούς. τὴν δὲ ὑπάρχουσαν ἡγεμονίαν
αὐτόν τινα διοικεῖσθαι καλὸν καὶ μὴ ἀλλοτρίας
23 οἰκειοῦσθαι φροντίδας. ὥστε καὶ σοὶ βασιλείαν

[1] ἀπόλαβε VP : ἀπόλαυε O. [2] ἐς οἶκον PO : ἐπ' οἶκον V.

Such was his message. But Gelimer sent the envoys away with nothing accomplished, and he blinded Hoamer and also kept Ilderic and Euagees in closer confinement, charging them with planning flight to Byzantium. And when this too was heard by the Emperor Justinian, he sent envoys a second time and wrote as follows: "We, indeed, supposed that you would never go contrary to our advice when we wrote you the former letter. But since it pleases you to have secured possession of the royal power in the manner in which you have taken and now hold it, get from it whatever Heaven grants. But do you send to us Ilderic, and Hoamer whom you have blinded, and his brother, to receive what comfort they can who have been robbed of a kingdom or of sight; for we shall not let the matter rest if you do not do this. And I speak thus because we are led by the hope which I had based on our friendship. And the treaty with Gizeric will not stand as an obstacle for us. For it is not to make war upon him who has succeeded to the kingdom of Gizeric that we come, but to avenge Gizeric with all our power."

When Gelimer had read this, he replied as follows: "King Gelimer to the Emperor Justinian. Neither have I taken the office by violence nor has anything unholy been done by me to my kinsmen. For Ilderic, while planning a revolution against the house of Gizeric, was dethroned by the nation of the Vandals; and I was called to the kingdom by my years, which gave me the preference, according to the law at least. Now it is well for one to administer the kingly office which belongs to him and not to make the concerns of others his own. Hence

ἔχοντι τὸ περιέργῳ εἶναι οὐ δίκαιον· λύοντι δέ σοι
τὰς σπονδὰς καὶ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἰόντι ἀπαντήσομεν ὅση
δύναμις, μαρτυρόμενοι τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς Ζήνωνι
ὀμωμοσμένους, οὗ τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν
24 ἔχεις." ταῦτα λαβὼν Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς
τὰ γράμματα, ἔχων καὶ πρότερον δι' ὀργῆς Γελί-
25 μερα, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐς τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπῆρτο. καί
οἱ ἔδοξε καταλύσαντι ὡς τάχιστα τὸν Μηδικὸν
πόλεμον ἐς Λιβύην στρατεῦσαι, καί (ἦν γὰρ
ἐπινοῆσαί τε ὀξὺς καὶ ἄοκνος τὰ βεβουλευμένα
ἐπιτελέσαι) παρῆν μὲν αὐτῷ μετάπεμπτος ὁ τῆς
ἑῴας στρατηγὸς Βελισάριος, οὐχ ὅτι ἐς Λιβύην
στρατηγήσειν μέλλοι προειρημένον αὐτῷ ἢ ἄλλῳ
ὁτῳοῦν, ἀλλὰ τῷ λόγῳ παραλέλυτο ἧς εἶχεν ἀρχῆς.
26 γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτίκα αἱ πρὸς Πέρσας σπονδαί, ὡς
ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη.

X

Βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανός, ἐπεί οἱ τά τε οἴκοι
καὶ τὰ ἐς τοὺς Πέρσας ὡς ἄριστα εἶχε, τὰ ἐν
2 Λιβύῃ πράγματα ἐν βουλῇ ἐποιεῖτο.[1] ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς
τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐξήνεγκεν ὡς στρατιὰν ἀγείροι ἐπὶ
Βανδίλους τε καὶ Γελίμερα, οἱ πλεῖστοι ἤδη ἐδυ-
σχέραινόν τε καὶ ἐν ξυμφορᾷ ἦσαν, τόν τε Λέον-
τος τοῦ βασιλέως στόλον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Βασιλίσκου
πάθος ἀνανεούμενοί τε καὶ ἀποστοματίζοντες

[1] ἐποιεῖτο VP in marg. O: εἶχεν P in context.

for you also, who have a kingdom, meddling in other's affairs is not just; and if you break the treaty and come against us, we shall oppose you with all our power, calling to witness the oaths which were sworn by Zeno, from whom you have received the kingdom which you hold." The Emperor Justinian, upon receiving this letter, having been angry with Gelimer even before then, was still more eager to punish him. And it seemed to him best to put an end to the Persian war as soon as possible and then to make an expedition to Libya; and since he was quick at forming a plan and prompt in carrying out his decisions, Belisarius, the General of the East, was summoned and came to him immediately, no announcement having been made to him nor to anyone else that he was about to lead an army against Libya, but it was given out that he had been removed from the office which he held. And straightway the treaty with Persia was made, as has been told in the preceding narrative.[1]

X

AND when the Emperor Justinian considered that the situation was as favourable as possible, both as to domestic affairs and as to his relations with Persia, he took under consideration the situation in Libya. But when he disclosed to the magistrates that he was gathering an army against the Vandals and Gelimer, the most of them began immediately to show hostility to the plan, and they lamented it as a misfortune, recalling the expedition of the Emperor Leon and the disaster of Basiliscus, and reciting how many soldiers

[1] Book I. xxii. 16.

στρατιώτας μὲν ὅσοι ἀπέθανον, χρήματα δὲ ὅσα
3 τὸ δημόσιον ὦφλε. μάλιστα δὲ ἤλγουν τε καὶ
περιώδυνοι τῇ μερίμνῃ ἐγίνοντο ὅ τε τῆς αὐλῆς
ἔπαρχος,[1] ὃν δὴ πραίτωρα[2] καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι,
καὶ ὁ τοῦ ταμιείου ἡγούμενος καὶ ὅτῳ ἄλλῳ
φόρου ξυλλογὴ δημοσίου ἢ βασιλικοῦ ἐπετέ-
τακτο, λογιζόμενοι ὅτι αὐτοῖς εἰς[3] τὴν τοῦ
πολέμου χρείαν δεήσει ἄμετρα φέρουσιν οὔτε
ξυγγνώμης τινὸς οὔτε ἀναβολῆς ἀξίοις εἶναι.
4 τῶν δὲ στρατηγῶν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος στρατηγήσειν
οἰόμενος κατωρρώδει τε καὶ ἀπώκνει τοῦ κινδύνου
τὸ μέγεθος, εἴ οἱ ἀναγκαῖον εἴη διασωθέντι ἐκ τῶν
ἐν θαλάσσῃ κακῶν στρατοπεδεύεσθαι μὲν ἐν τῇ
πολεμίᾳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν νεῶν ὁρμωμένῳ διαμάχεσθαι
5 πρὸς βασιλείαν μεγάλην τε καὶ λόγου ἀξίαν. οἱ
δὲ στρατιῶται ἄρτι ἐκ πολέμου μακροῦ τε καὶ
χαλεποῦ ἐπανήκοντες οὔπω τε ὅλῃ γλώσσῃ ἀγα-
θῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκίαν γευσάμενοι ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ
ἐγίνοντο ἔς τε ναυμαχίαν ἀγόμενοι, ἣν οὐδὲ ἀκοῇ
πρότερον παραλαβόντες ἐτύγχανον, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν
ἑῴων ὁρίων στελλόμενοι ἐς τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου δυσμάς,
ἐφ᾽ ᾧ διακινδυνεύσουσι πρός τε Βανδίλους καὶ
6 Μαυρουσίους. οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι, ἅπερ ἐν ὁμίλῳ
φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἤθελον διὰ
κινδύνων ἀλλοτρίων θεαταὶ γενέσθαι.

7 Βασιλεῖ μέντοι εἰπεῖν τι ἐπὶ κωλύμῃ τῆς
στρατιᾶς οὐδείς, ὅτι μὴ ὁ Καππαδόκης Ἰωάννης,
ἐτόλμησεν, ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ἔπαρχος, θρασύτατός τε

[1] ἔπαρχος VO: ὕπαρχος P.
[2] πραίτωρα VP: πραιτωρίων O; Haury would prefer τῶν πραιτορίων.
[3] εἰς added by Maltretus.

had perished and how much money the state had lost. But the men who were the most sorrowful of all, and who, by reason of their anxiety, felt the keenest regret, were the pretorian prefect, whom the Romans call "praetor," and the administrator of the treasury, and all to whom had been assigned the collection of either public or imperial[1] taxes, for they reasoned that while it would be necessary for them to produce countless sums for the needs of the war, they would be granted neither pardon in case of failure nor extension of time in which to raise these sums. And every one of the generals, supposing that he himself would command the army, was in terror and dread at the greatness of the danger, if it should be necessary for him, if he were preserved from the perils of the sea, to encamp in the enemy's land, and, using his ships as a base, to engage in a struggle against a kingdom both large and formidable. The soldiers, also, having recently returned from a long, hard war, and having not yet tasted to the full the blessings of home, were in despair, both because they were being led into sea-fighting,—a thing which they had not learned even from tradition before then,—and because they were sent from the eastern frontier to the West, in order to risk their lives against Vandals and Moors. But all the rest, as usually happens in a great throng, wished to be spectators of new adventures while others faced the dangers.

But as for saying anything to the emperor to prevent the expedition, no one dared to do this except John the Cappadocian, the pretorian prefect,

[1] The "imperial" taxes were for the emperor's privy purse, the fiscus.

ὢν καὶ δεινότατος τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἁπάντων.
8 οὗτος γὰρ Ἰωάννης, τῶν ἄλλων σιωπῇ τὰς
παρούσας ὀδυρομένων τύχας, παρελθὼν ἐς βασι-
λέα ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Τὸ πιστόν, ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς
ἐς τοὺς ὑπηκόους τοὺς σοὺς ὁμιλίας τὴν παρ-
ρησίαν ἡμῖν ἀναπετάννυσιν[1] ὅ τι ἂν μέλλοι τῇ
πολιτείᾳ τῇ σῇ ξυνοίσειν, ἢν καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἡδονήν
9 σοι τὰ λεγόμενά τε καὶ πρασσόμενα ᾖ. οὕτω γάρ
σοι κεράννυσι τῷ δικαίῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἡ σύνεσις,
ὥστε οὐ τὸν ὑπηρετήσαντα πάντως εὔνουν εἶναι
ἡγῇ τοῖς σαυτοῦ πράγμασιν, οὐδὲ τῷ ἀντειπόντι
χαλεπῶς ἔχεις, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ τῷ τῆς διανοίας
ἀκραιφνεῖ πάντα σταθμώμενος ἀκίνδυνον ἡμῖν
ἀπέδειξας πολλάκις τὸ τοῖς σοῖς ἀντιστῆναι βου-
10 λεύμασι. τούτοις ἠγμένος, ὦ βασιλεῦ, κατέστην εἰς
ξυμβουλὴν τήνδε, προσκρούσων μὲν τὸ παραυτίκα
ἴσως, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ,[2] ἐς δὲ τὸ μέλλον τὴν εὔνοιαν
τὴν ἐμὴν καταφανῆ δείξων, ταύτης τέ σε μάρτυρα
11 παρεξόμενος. ἢν γὰρ ἀπειθῶν τοῖς λεγομένοις
ἐξοίσεις ἐς Βανδίλους τὸν πόλεμον, μηκυνομένης
σοι τῆς ἀγωνίας τὴν ἐμὴν παραίνεσιν εὐδοκιμῆσαι
12 ξυμβήσεται. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὡς κρατήσεις τῶν πολε-
μίων τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχεις, οὐδὲν ἀπεικός σε τά τε σώ-
ματα προΐεσθαι καὶ χρημάτων δαπανᾶν πλῆθος,
καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀγώνων ὑφίστασθαι πόνους·
νίκη γὰρ ἐπιγενομένη πάντα καλύπτει τὰ τοῦ
13 πολέμου πάθη. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ
γούνασι κεῖται, παραδείγμασι δὲ τῶν προγεγε-
νημένων χρωμένους ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη δεδιέναι τὸ τοῦ

[1] ἀναπετάννυσιν VO : ἀναπετάννυσι ποιεῖν τε καὶ λέγειν P.
[2] τύχῃ V : τύχοι PO.

a man of the greatest daring and the cleverest of all men of his time. For this John, while all the others were bewailing in silence the fortune which was upon them, came before the emperor and spoke as follows: "O Emperor, the good faith which thou dost shew in dealing with thy subjects enables us to speak frankly regarding anything which will be of advantage to thy government, even though what is said and done may not be agreeable to thee. For thus does thy wisdom temper thy authority with justice, in that thou dost not consider that man only as loyal to thy cause who serves thee under any and all conditions, nor art thou angry with the man who speaks against thee, but by weighing all things by pure reason alone, thou hast often shewn that it involves us in no danger to oppose thy purposes. Led by these considerations, O Emperor, I have come to offer this advice, knowing that, though I shall give perhaps offence at the moment, if it so chance, yet in the future the loyalty which I bear you will be made clear, and that for this I shall be able to shew thee as a witness. For if, through not hearkening to my words, thou shalt carry out the war against the Vandals, it will come about, if the struggle is prolonged for thee, that my advice will win renown. For if thou hast confidence that thou wilt conquer the enemy, it is not at all unreasonable that thou shouldst sacrifice the lives of men and expend a vast amount of treasure, and undergo the difficulties of the struggle; for victory, coming at the end, covers up all the calamities of war. But if in reality these things lie on the knees of God, and if it behoves us, taking example from what has happened in the past, to fear the outcome of war, on

πολέμου πέρας, πῶς οὐχὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κιν-
14 δύνων τὸ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀγαπᾶν ἄμεινον; ἐπὶ Καρ-
χηδόνα διανοῇ στρατεύειν, εἰς ἣν κατὰ μὲν τὴν
ἤπειρον ἰόντι ὁδὸς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν
ἡμερῶν ἐστι, πλέοντι δὲ ἀνάγκη τὸ πέλαγος ὅλον
ἀμειψαμένῳ πρὸς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς θαλάσσης
ἐλθεῖν. ὥστε τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ξυμβησο-
μένων ἐνιαύσιόν σοι δεήσει τὸν ἄγγελον ἥκειν.
15 προσθείη δὲ ἄν τις ὡς, ἢν μὲν κρατήσῃς τῶν πολε-
μίων, Λιβύης μεταποιεῖσθαι οὐκ ἂν δύναιο, τῆς τε
16 Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας ὑφ' ἑτέροις κειμένης· ἢν δέ
τι καὶ πταίσῃς, ὦ βασιλεῦ, λελυμένων ἤδη σοι
τῶν σπονδῶν, εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν τὸν κίνδυνον
ἄξεις· ξυνελόντι τε εἰπεῖν οὔτε ἀπόνασθαι παρ-
έσται σοι τῆς νίκης καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης ἐναντίωμα
17 λυμανεῖται τοῖς εὖ καθεστῶσι. πρὸ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων τὸ τῆς εὐβουλίας ὄφελός ἐστι. τοῖς μὲν
γὰρ ἐπταικόσι τὸ μεταμελεῖσθαι ἀνόνητον,[1] πρὸ
δὲ τῶν δεινῶν τὸ μεταμανθάνειν ἀκίνδυνον. οὐκ-
οῦν ξυνοίσει πάντων μάλιστα τὸ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐν
δέοντι χρῆσθαι."

18 Ἰωάννης μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ
βασιλεὺς τὴν ἐς τὸν πόλεμον προθυμίαν κατέ-
παυσε. τῶν δέ τις ἱερέων οὓς δὴ ἐπισκόπους
καλοῦσιν, ἐκ τῆς ἑῴας ἥκων ἔφη ἐς λόγους τῷ
19 βασιλεῖ ἐλθεῖν βούλεσθαι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ αὐτῷ
ξυνέμιξεν, ἔλεγέν οἱ τὸν θεὸν ἐπισκῆψαι ὄναρ
γενέσθαι τε ὡς βασιλέα καὶ αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι
ὅτι δὴ Χριστιανοὺς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ ῥύεσθαι ἐκ
τυράννων ὑποδεξάμενος εἶτα λόγῳ οὐδενὶ κατωρ-
20 ρώδησε· "Καίτοι αὐτός," ἔφη, "οἱ πολεμοῦντι

[1] ἀνόνητον PO : ἀνόητον V.

what grounds is it not better to love a state of quiet rather than the dangers of mortal strife? Thou art purposing to make an expedition against Carthage, to which, if one goes by land, the journey is one of a hundred and forty days, and if one goes by water, he is forced to cross the whole open sea and go to its very end. So that he who brings thee news of what will happen in the camp must needs reach thee a year after the event. And one might add that if thou art victorious over thy enemy, thou couldst not take possession of Libya while Sicily and Italy lie in the hands of others; and at the same time, if any reverse befall thee, O Emperor, the treaty having already been broken by thee, thou wilt bring the danger upon our own land. In fact, putting all in a word, it will not be possible for thee to reap the fruits of victory, and at the same time any reversal of fortune will bring harm to what is well established. It is before an enterprise that wise planning is useful. For when men have failed, repentance is of no avail, but before disaster comes there is no danger in altering plans. Therefore it will be of advantage above all else to make fitting use of the decisive moment."

Thus spoke John; and the Emperor Justinian, hearkening to his words, checked his eager desire for the war. But one of the priests whom they call bishops, who had come from the East, said that he wished to have a word with the emperor. And when he met Justinian, he said that God had visited him in a dream, and bidden him go to the emperor and rebuke him, because, after undertaking the task of protecting the Christians in Libya from tyrants, he had for no good reason become afraid. "And yet," He had said, "I will

21 ξυλλήψομαι Λιβύης τε κύριον θήσομαι." ταῦτα
βασιλεὺς ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε, κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν
οὐκέτι ἐδύνατο, ἀλλὰ τήν τε στρατιὰν καὶ τὰς
ναῦς ἤγειρεν, ὅπλα τε καὶ σιτία ἡτοίμαζε καὶ
Βελισαρίῳ ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐπήγγελλεν εἶναι ὡς ἐν
22 Λιβύῃ [1] στρατηγήσοντι αὐτίκα μάλα. Τρίπολιν
δὲ τὴν ἐν Λιβύῃ τῶν τις ἐπιχωρίων Πουδέντιος
ἀπὸ Βανδίλων ἀπέστησε, πέμψας τε ὡς βασιλέα
23 ἐδεῖτό οἱ στρατιὰν στεῖλαι· πόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ τὴν
χώραν οὐδενὶ προσποιήσειν. ὁ δέ οἱ ἄρχοντά τε
24 Ταττιμοὺθ καὶ στράτευμα οὐ πολὺ ἔστειλεν. ὃ
δὴ ἑταιρισάμενος Πουδέντιος Βανδίλων οὐ παρόν-
των τήν τε χώραν ἔσχε καὶ βασιλεῖ προσεποίησε.
τῷ δὲ Γελίμερι τιμωρεῖν βουλομένῳ Πουδέντιον
ἐναντίωμα ξυνέπεσε τόδε.

25 Γώδας τις ἦν ἐν τοῖς Γελίμερος δούλοις, Γότθος
τὸ γένος, θυμοειδὴς μὲν καὶ δραστήριος καὶ πρὸς
ἰσχὺν ἱκανῶς πεφυκώς, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ δοκῶν ἐς [2] τὰ
26 τοῦ δεσπότου πράγματα ἔχειν. τούτῳ τῷ Γώδᾳ
ὁ Γελίμερ Σαρδὼ τὴν νῆσον ἐπέτρεψε, φυλακῆς
27 τε ἕνεκα καὶ φόρον τὸν ἐπέτειον ἀποφέρειν. ὁ δὲ
τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης εὐημερίαν οὔτε καταπέψαι
οὔτε τῇ ψυχῇ φέρειν οἷός τε ὢν τυραννίδι ἐπε-
χείρησε, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν τοῦ φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν ἀπο-
φέρειν ἔτι ἠξίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν νῆσον αὐτὸς
28 Βανδίλων ἀποστήσας εἶχε. καὶ ἐπεὶ ᾔσθετο
βασιλέα Ἰουστινιανὸν πολεμησείοντα ἐπί τε
Λιβύην καὶ Γελίμερα, ἔγραψε πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε·

[1] ἐν λιβύῃ V : ἐς λιβύην PO. [2] ἐς VP : πρὸς O.

Myself join with him in waging war and make him lord of Libya." When the emperor heard this, he was no longer able to restrain his purpose, and he began to collect the army and the ships, and to make ready supplies of weapons and of food, and he announced to Belisarius that he should be in readiness, because he was very soon to act as general in Libya. Meanwhile Pudentius, one of the natives of Tripolis in Libya, caused this district to revolt from the Vandals, and sending to the emperor he begged that he should despatch an army to him; for, he said, he would with no trouble win the land for the emperor. And Justinian sent him Tattimuth and an army of no very great size. This force Pudentius joined with his own troops and, the Vandals being absent, he gained possession of the land and made it subject to the emperor. And Gelimer, though wishing to inflict punishment upon Pudentius, found the following obstacle in his way.

There was a certain Godas among the slaves of Gelimer, a Goth by birth, a passionate and energetic fellow possessed of great bodily strength, but appearing to be well-disposed to the cause of his master. To this Godas Gelimer entrusted the island of Sardinia, in order both to guard the island and to pay over the annual tribute. But he neither could digest the prosperity brought by fortune nor had he the spirit to endure it, and so he undertook to establish a tyranny, and he refused to continue the payment of the tribute, and actually detached the island from the Vandals and held it himself. And when he perceived that the Emperor Justinian was eager to make war against Libya and Gelimer, he wrote to him as follows:

29 "Οὔτε ἀγνωμοσύνῃ εἴκων οὔτε τι ἄχαρι πρὸς
δεσπότου παθὼν τοῦ ἐμοῦ εἰς ἀπόστασιν εἶδον,
ἀλλὰ τἀνδρὸς ἰδὼν τὴν ὠμότητα ἰσχυρὰν οἵαν εἴς
τε τὸ ξυγγενὲς καὶ ὑπήκοον μετέχειν τῆς ἀπαν-
30 θρωπίας οὐκ ἂν δόξαιμι ἑκών γε εἶναι. ἄμεινον
γὰρ βασιλεῖ δικαίῳ ὑπηρετεῖν ἢ τυράννῳ τὰ οὐκ
31 ἔννομα ἐπαγγέλλοντι. ἀλλ' ὅπως μὲν συλλήψῃ
μοι ταῦτα σπουδάζοντι, ὅπως δὲ στρατιώτας
πέμποις ὥστε με ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἱκανῶς
ἔχειν."
32 Ταύτην βασιλεὺς ἄσμενος λαβὼν τὴν ἐπιστο-
λὴν Εὐλόγιον πρεσβευτὴν ἔπεμψε καὶ γράμ-
ματα ἔγραψεν, ἐπαινῶν τὸν Γώδαν τῆς τε
ξυνέσεως καὶ τῆς ἐς τὴν δικαιοσύνην προθυμίας,
ξυμμαχίαν τε ἐπαγγελλόμενος καὶ στρατιώτας
καὶ στρατηγόν, ὃς αὐτῷ ξυμφυλάξαι τε τὴν νῆσον
οἷός τε εἴη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ξυλλήψεσθαι, ὥστε
αὐτῷ δύσκολον μηδὲν πρὸς Βανδίλων ξυμβῆναι.
33 Εὐλόγιος δὲ ἀφικόμενος εἰς Σαρδὼ εὕρισκε Γώδαν
ὄνομά τε καὶ σχῆμα βασιλέως περιβαλλόμενον
34 καὶ δορυφόρους προσποιησάμενον. ὃς ἐπειδὴ τὴν
βασιλέως ἐπιστολὴν ἀνελέξατο, στρατιώτας μὲν
ἔφη ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐλθεῖν βουλομένῳ εἶναι, ἄρ-
χοντος δὲ οὐ πάνυ χρῄζειν. κατὰ ταῦτά τε πρὸς
βασιλέα γράψας τὸν Εὐλόγιον ἀπεπέμψατο.

XI

Ταῦτα βασιλεὺς οὔπω πεπυσμένος τετρακο-
σίους τε στρατιώτας καὶ ἄρχοντα Κύριλλον ὡς
2 τὴν νῆσον ξυμφυλάξοντας Γώδᾳ ἡτοίμαζεν. ἤδη

"It was neither because I yielded to folly nor because I had suffered anything unpleasant at my master's hands that I turned my thoughts towards rebellion, but seeing the extreme cruelty of the man both toward his kinsmen and toward his subjects, I could not, willingly at least, be reputed to have a share in his inhumanity. For it is better to serve a just king than a tyrant whose commands are unlawful. But do thou join with me to assist in this my effort and send soldiers so that I may be able to ward off my assailants."

And the emperor, on receiving this letter, was pleased, and he sent Eulogius as envoy and wrote a letter praising Godas for his wisdom and his zeal for justice, and he promised an alliance and soldiers and a general, who would be able to guard the island with him and to assist him in every other way, so that no trouble should come to him from the Vandals. But Eulogius, upon coming to Sardinia, found that Godas was assuming the name and wearing the dress of a king and that he had attached a body-guard to his person. And when Godas read the emperor's letter, he said that it was his wish to have soldiers, indeed, come to fight along with him, but as for a commander, he had absolutely no desire for one. And having written to the emperor in this sense, he dismissed Eulogius.

XI

The emperor, meanwhile, not having yet ascertained these things, was preparing four hundred soldiers with Cyril as commander, who were to assist Godas in guarding the island. And with

δὲ ξὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐς Καρχηδόνα στρατείαν ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶχε, πεζοὺς μὲν στρατιώτας μυρίους, ἱππέας δὲ πεντακισχιλίους, ἔκ τε στρατιωτῶν
3 καὶ φοιδεράτων συνειλεγμένους. ἐν δὲ δὴ φοιδεράτοις πρότερον μὲν μόνοι βάρβαροι κατελέγοντο, ὅσοι οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ δοῦλοι εἶναι, ἅτε μὴ πρὸς Ῥωμαίων ἡσσημένοι, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ
4 ὁμοίᾳ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἀφίκοιντο· φοίδερα γὰρ τὰς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους σπονδὰς καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι· τὸ δὲ νῦν ἅπασι τοῦ ὀνόματος τούτου ἐπιβατεύειν οὐκ ἐν κωλύμῃ ἐστί, τοῦ χρόνου τὰς προσηγορίας ἐφ' ὧν τέθεινται ἥκιστα ἀξιοῦντος τηρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀεὶ περιφερομένων, ᾗ ταῦτα ἄγειν ἐθέλουσιν ἄνθρωποι, τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτοῖς ὠνομασμένων[1] ὀλιγωροῦντες.
5 ἄρχοντες δὲ ἦσαν φοιδεράτων μὲν Δωρόθεός τε, ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων στρατηγός, καὶ Σολόμων, ὃς τὴν Βελισαρίου ἐπετρόπευε στρατη-
6 γίαν· (δομέστικον τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ὁ δὲ Σολόμων οὗτος εὐνοῦχος μὲν ἦν, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς δὲ ἀνθρώπου τὰ αἰδοῖα ἐτύγχανεν ἀποτμηθείς, ἀλλά τις αὐτῷ τύχη ἐν σπαργάνοις ὄντι τοῦτο ἐβράβευσε·) καὶ Κυπριανὸς καὶ Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Μαρτῖνος καὶ Ἀλθίας καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Μάρκελλος καὶ Κύριλλος, οὗ πρόσθεν ἐμνή-
7 σθην· στρατιωτῶν δὲ ἱππέων μὲν Ῥουφῖνός τε καὶ Αἰγάν, ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντες, καὶ Βαρβᾶτος καὶ Πάππος, πεζῶν δὲ Θεόδωρος,

[1] ὠνομασμένων O : ὀμωμοσμένων V, ὀνομασμένων P.

them he also had in readiness the expedition against Carthage, ten thousand foot-soldiers, and five thousand horsemen, gathered from the regular troops and from the "foederati." Now at an earlier time only barbarians were enlisted among the foederati, those, namely, who had come into the Roman political system, not in the condition of slaves, since they had not been conquered by the Romans, but on the basis of complete equality.[1] For the Romans call treaties with their enemies "foedera." But at the present time there is nothing to prevent anyone from assuming this name, since time will by no means consent to keep names attached to the things to which they were formerly applied, but conditions are ever changing about according to the desire of men who control them, and men pay little heed to the meaning which they originally attached to a name. And the commanders of the foederati were Dorotheus, the general of the troops in Armenia, and Solomon, who was acting as manager for the general Belisarius; (such a person the Romans call "domesticus." Now this Solomon was a eunuch, but it was not by the devising of man that he had suffered mutilation, but some accident which befell him while in swaddling clothes had imposed this lot upon him); and there were also Cyprian, Valerian, Martinus, Althias, John, Marcellus, and the Cyril whom I have mentioned above; and the commanders of the regular cavalry were Rufinus and Aïgan, who were of the house of Belisarius, and Barbatus and Pappus, while the regular infantry

[1] These foederati were private bands of troops under the leadership of condottiere; these had the title of "count" and received from the state an allowance for the support of their bands.

ὅνπερ Κτεάνον ἐπίκλησιν ἐκάλουν, καὶ Τερέν-
τιός τε καὶ Ζάϊδος καὶ Μαρκιανὸς καὶ Σάραπις.
8 Ἰωάννης δέ τις ἐξ Ἐπιδάμνου ὁρμώμενος, ἣ
νῦν Δυρράχιον καλεῖται, τοῖς τῶν πεζῶν ἡγεμό-
9 σιν ἅπασιν ἐφειστήκει. τούτων ἁπάντων Σολό-
μων μὲν ἑῷος ἐτύγχανεν ὢν ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων
ἐσχατιᾶς αὐτῆς, οὗ νῦν πόλις οἰκεῖται Δάρας,
Αἰγὰν δὲ ἦν Μασσαγέτης γένος, οὓς νῦν Οὔν-
10 νους καλοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες
11 τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς Θρᾴκης χωρία ᾤκουν. εἵποντο δὲ
αὐτοῖς Ἔρουλοι τετρακόσιοι, ὧν Φάρας ἦρχε, καὶ
ξύμμαχοι βάρβαροι ἑξακόσιοι μάλιστα ἐκ τοῦ
12 Μασσαγετῶν ἔθνους, ἱπποτοξόται πάντες· ὧν
δὴ ἡγοῦντο Σιννίων τε καὶ Βάλας, ἀνδρίας τε
13 καὶ καρτερίας ἐς ἄκρον ἥκοντε. ναῦς δὲ ἡ
σύμπασα στρατιὰ πεντακοσίας ἦγε, καὶ αὐτῶν
οὐδεμία πλέον ἢ κατὰ μυριάδας πέντε μεδίμνων
φέρειν οἵα τε ἦν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἔλασσον ἢ κατὰ
14 τρισχιλίους. ναῦται δὲ[1] τρισμύριοι[2] ἐπέπλεον
ἁπάσαις, Αἰγύπτιοί τε καὶ Ἴωνες οἱ πλεῖστοι
καὶ Κίλικες, ἀρχηγός τε εἷς ἐπὶ ταῖς ναυσὶν
ἁπάσαις Καλώνυμος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς ἀπεδέδεικτο.
15 ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ πλοῖα μακρά, ὡς ἐς ναυ-
μαχίαν παρεσκευασμένα, ἐνενήκοντα δύο, μονήρη
μέντοι καὶ ὀροφὰς ὕπερθεν ἔχοντα, ὅπως οἱ
ταῦτα ἐρέσσοντες πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἥκιστα
16 βάλλοιντο. δρόμωνας καλοῦσι τὰ πλοῖα ταῦτα
οἱ νῦν ἄνθρωποι· πλεῖν γὰρ κατὰ τάχος δύνανται
μάλιστα. ἐν τούτοις δὴ Βυζάντιοι δισχίλιοι

[1] δὲ PO : γὰρ V.
[2] τρισμύριοι VO Theophanes : δυσμύριοι P.

was commanded by Theodorus, who was surnamed Cteanus, and Terentius, Zaïdus, Marcian, and Sarapis. And a certain John, a native of Epidamnus, which is now called Dyrrachium, held supreme command over all the leaders of infantry. Among all these commanders Solomon was from a place in the East, at the very extremity of the Roman domain, where the city called Daras now stands, and Aïgan was by birth of the Massagetae whom they now call Huns; and the rest were almost all inhabitants of the land of Thrace. And there followed with them also four hundred Eruli, whom Pharas led, and about six hundred barbarian allies from the nation of the Massagetae, all mounted bowmen; these were led by Sinnion and Balas, men endowed with bravery and endurance in the highest degree. And for the whole force five hundred ships were required, no one of which was able to carry more than fifty thousand medimni,[1] nor any one less than three thousand. And in all the vessels together there were thirty thousand sailors, Egyptians and Ionians for the most part, and Cilicians, and one commander was appointed over all the ships, Calonymus of Alexandria. And they had also ships of war prepared as for sea-fighting, to the number of ninety-two, and they were single-banked ships covered by decks, in order that the men rowing them might if possible not be exposed to the bolts of the enemy. Such boats are called "dromones"[2] by those of the present time; for they are able to attain a great speed. In these sailed two thousand men of Byzantium, who were all rowers as well as

[1] The medimnus equalled about one and a half bushels.
[2] *i.e.* "runners."

ἔπλεον, αὐτερέται πάντες· περίνεως γὰρ ἦν ἐν
17 *τούτοις οὐδείς. ἐστέλλετο δὲ καὶ Ἀρχέλαος, ἀνὴρ ἐς πατρικίους τελῶν, ἤδη μὲν τῆς αὐλῆς ἔπαρχος*[1] *ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ καὶ Ἰλλυριοῖς γεγονώς, τότε δὲ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καταστὰς ἔπαρχος·*[1] *οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς δαπάνης χορηγὸς ὀνομάζεται.*
18 *στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτοκράτορα ἐφ' ἅπασι Βελισάριον βασιλεὺς ἔστελλεν, ὃς τῶν ἑῴων αὖθις κατα-*
19 *λόγων ἦρχε. καὶ αὐτῷ πολλοὶ μὲν δορυφόροι, πολλοὶ δὲ ὑπασπισταὶ εἵποντο, ἄνδρες τε ἀγαθοὶ τὰ πολέμια καὶ τῶν περὶ ταῦτα κινδύνων ἀτεχ-*
20 *νῶς*[2] *ἔμπειροι. γράμματά τε αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἔγραφε, δρᾶν ἕκαστα ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ ἄριστα ἔχειν, ταῦτά τε κύρια εἶναι ἅτε αὐτοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὰ διαπεπραγμένου. βασιλέως γὰρ αὐτῷ*
21 *ῥοπὴν τὰ γράμματα ἐποίει. ὥρμητο δὲ ὁ Βελισάριος ἐκ Γερμανίας, ᾗ Θρᾳκῶν τε καὶ Ἰλλυριῶν μεταξὺ κεῖται. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγίνετο τῇδε.*

22 *Γελίμερ δὲ Τριπόλεώς τε πρὸς Πουδεντίου καὶ Σαρδοῦς πρὸς Γώδα ἐστερημένος, Τρίπολιν μὲν ἀνασώσασθαι μόλις ἤλπισεν, ἀπωτέρω τε ᾠκημένην*[3] *καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἤδη τοῖς ἀποστᾶσι ξυλλαμβανόντων, ἐφ' οὓς δὴ μὴ αὐτίκα στρατεύειν ἔδοξέν οἱ ἄριστα ἔχειν· ἐς δὲ τὴν νῆσον προτερῆσαι ἠπείγετο, πρὶν ἢ καὶ ἐς ταύτην ξυμ-*
23 *μαχίαν ἐκ βασιλέως ἥκειν. ἀπολέξας οὖν Βανδίλων χιλιάδας πέντε καὶ ναῦς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν τὰς ἄριστα πλεούσας στρατηγόν τε ἀποδείξας*

[1] *ἔπαρχος* V : *ὕπαρχος* PO.
[2] *ἀτεχνῶς* VP : *παντελῶς* O.
[3] *ᾠκημένην* VO : *ὡς κειμένην* P.

fighting men; for there was not a single superfluous man among them. And Archelaus was also sent, a man of patrician standing who had already been pretorian prefect both in Byzantium and in Illyricum, but he then held the position of prefect of the army; for thus the officer charged with the maintenance of the army is designated. But as general with supreme authority over all the emperor sent Belisarius, who was in command of the troops of the East for the second time. And he was followed by many spearmen and many guards as well, men who were capable warriors and thoroughly experienced in the dangers of fighting. And the emperor gave him written instructions, bidding him do everything as seemed best to him, and stating that his acts would be final, as if the emperor himself had done them. The writing, in fact, gave him the power of a king. Now Belisarius was a native of Germania, which lies between Thrace and Illyricum. These things, then, took place in this way.

Gelimer, however, being deprived of Tripolis by Pudentius and of Sardinia by Godas, scarcely hoped to regain Tripolis, since it was situated at a great distance and the rebels were already being assisted by the Romans, against whom just at that moment it seemed to him best not to take the field; but he was eager to get to the island before any army sent by the emperor to fight for his enemies should arrive there. He accordingly selected five thousand of the Vandals and one hundred and twenty ships of the fastest kind, and appointing as general his brother Tzazon, he

24 Τζάζωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔστελλε. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ
Γώδαν τε καὶ Σαρδὼ θυμῷ τε πολλῷ καὶ σπουδῇ
χρώμενοι ἔπλεον, βασιλεὺς δὲ Ἰουστινιανὸς Βα-
λεριανόν τε καὶ Μαρτῖνον προτέρους ἔστελλεν,
ἐφ᾿ ᾧ προσδέξονται τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐς τὰ
25 ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρία. καὶ ἐπειδὴ[1] ἐν ταῖς
ναυσὶν ἄμφω ἐγενέσθην, ἐνθύμιον βασιλεῖ ἐγένετο
ἐντέλλεσθαί τι αὐτοῖν· ὃ καὶ πρότερον ἐθέλοντα
λέγειν ἀσχολία τις λόγων ἑτέρων τὴν διάνοιαν
26 περιλαβοῦσα ἐξέκρουσε. μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν
αὐτὼ λέγειν ἔμελλεν ἃ ἐβούλετο, ἀλλὰ ξυμ-
βαλὼν εὕρισκεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν αὐτοῖν αἴσιον[2] εἴη τὴν
27 πορείαν ἐκκόψαι. ἔπεμπεν οὖν τινας ἀπεροῦντας
αὐτοῖν μήτε ἀναστρέφειν ἐς αὐτὸν αὖθις μήτε ἐκ
28 τῶν νεῶν ἀποβαίνειν. οἱ δέ, ἐπεὶ τῶν νεῶν ἀγχοῦ
ἐγένοντο, ἐκέλευον ξὺν βοῇ τε καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ
μηδαμῶς ἀναστρέφειν, ἔδοξέ τε τοῖς παροῦσιν
οἰωνός τε εἶναι οὐκ ἀγαθὸς τὸ γινόμενον καὶ
οὔποτε τῶν ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐκείναις τινὰ ἐκ
29 Λιβύης ἐς Βυζάντιον ἐπανήξειν. πρὸς γὰρ δὴ
τῷ οἰωνῷ καὶ ἀρὰν ἐς αὐτοὺς ἥκειν ἐκ βασιλέως
οὔτι ἑκόντος, ὥστε μὴ ἀναστρέφειν ὑπώπτευον.
καὶ εἰ μέν τις αὐτὰ ἐς τὼ ἄρχοντε τούτω, Βαλε-
ριανόν τε καὶ Μαρτῖνον, ξυμβάλλοιτο, οὐκ ἀληθῆ
30 εὑρήσει τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς δόξαντα. ἦν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς
Μαρτίνου δορυφόροις Στότζας, ὃς δὴ καὶ βασιλεῖ
πολέμιος ἔμελλεν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τυραννίδι ἐπιθέ-
σθαι καὶ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἥκιστα ἀναστρέφειν, ἐφ᾿
ὃν δὴ τὴν ἀρὰν ἐκείνην ὑποπτεύσειεν ἄν τις ξυν-

[1] ἐπειδὴ VP : ἐπεὶ O.
[2] αἴσιον VP : ὅσιον O.

sent them off. And so they were sailing with great enthusiasm and eagerness against Godas and Sardinia. In the meantime the Emperor Justinian was sending off Valerian and Martinus in advance of the others in order to await the rest of the army in the Peloponnesus. And when these two had embarked upon their ships, it came to the emperor's mind that there was something which he wished to enjoin upon them,—a thing which he had wished to say previously, but he had been so busied with the other matters of which he had to speak that his mind had been occupied with them and this subject had been driven out. He summoned them, accordingly, intending to say what he wished, but upon considering the matter, he saw that it would not be propitious for them to interrupt their journey. He therefore sent men to forbid them either to return to him or to disembark from their ships. And these men, upon coming near the ships, commanded them with much shouting and loud cries by no means to turn back, and it seemed to those present that the thing which had happened was no good omen and that never would one of the men in those ships return from Libya to Byzantium. For besides the omen they suspected that a curse also had come to the men from the emperor, not at all by his own will, so that they would not return. Now if anyone should so interpret the incident with regard to these two commanders, Valerian and Martinus, he will find the original opinion untrue. But there was a certain man among the body-guards of Martinus, Stotzas by name, who was destined to be an enemy of the emperor, to make an attempt to set up a tyranny, and by no means to return to Byzantium, and one might suppose that curse to have been

31 ενεγκεῖν τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν εἴτε ταύτῃ εἴτε πῃ ἄλλῃ ἔχει, ἀφίημι ἑκάστῳ ὅπη ἂν τις βούληται ἐκλογίζεσθαι. ὅπως δὲ ὅ τε στρατηγὸς Βελισάριος καὶ τὸ στράτευμα ἐστάλη, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.

XII

"Εβδομον ἤδη ἔτος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχων Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς ἀμφὶ θερινὰς τροπὰς τὴν στρατηγίδα ἐκέλευσε ναῦν ὁρμίσασθαι ἐς τὴν ἀκτὴν ἣ πρὸ τῆς βασιλέως αὐλῆς τυγχάνει οὖσα.
2 ἐνταῦθα Ἐπιφάνιος ἀφικόμενος, ὁ τῆς πόλεως ἀρχιερεύς, εὐξάμενός τε ὅσα εἰκὸς ἦν τῶν τινα στρατιωτῶν ἄρτι βεβαπτισμένον τε καὶ τοῦ Χριστιανῶν ὀνόματος μεταλαχόντα εἰς τὴν ναῦν εἰσεβίβασεν. οὕτω τοίνυν ὅ τε στρατηγὸς Βελι-
3 σάριος καὶ Ἀντωνίνα ἡ γυνὴ ἔπλεον. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ Προκόπιος, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε, πρότερον μὲν καὶ μάλα κατορρωδήσας τὸν κίνδυνον, ὄψιν δὲ ὀνείρου ἰδὼν ὕστερον ἣ αὐτὸν θαρσῆσαί τε ἐποίησε καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατεύεσθαι ὥρμησεν.
4 ἐδόκει γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὀνείρῳ εἶναι μὲν ἐν τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ, εἰσελθόντα δὲ ἀγγεῖλαι τῶν οἰκετῶν ἕνα ὡς ἥκοιέν τινες δῶρα φέροντες· καὶ Βελισάριον διασκοπεῖσθαι κελεύειν αὐτὸν[1] ὁποῖά ποτε εἴη τὰ δῶρα, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μεταύλῳ γενόμενον ἄνδρας ἰδεῖν οἳ ἔφερον ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων γῆν
5 αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι. τούτους δὲ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσαγαγόντα κελεῦσαι καταθεῖναι ἐν τῷ προστῴῳ ἣν ἔφερον γῆν· οὗ δὴ Βελισάριον ἅμα τοῖς δορυφό-

[1] αὐτὸν PO : om. V.

turned upon him by Heaven. But whether this matter stands thus or otherwise, I leave to each one to reason out as he wishes. But I shall proceed to tell how the general Belisarius and the army departed.

XII

IN the seventh year of Justinian's reign, at about the spring equinox, the emperor commanded the general's ship to anchor off the point which is before the royal palace. Thither came also Epiphanius, the chief priest of the city, and after uttering an appropriate prayer, he put on the ships one of the soldiers who had lately been baptized and had taken the Christian name. And after this the general Belisarius and Antonina, his wife, set sail. And there was with them also Procopius, who wrote this history; now previously he had been exceedingly terrified at the danger, but later he had seen a vision in his sleep which caused him to take courage and made him eager to go on the expedition. For it seemed in the dream that he was in the house of Belisarius, and one of the servants entering announced that some men had come bearing gifts; and Belisarius bade him investigate what sort of gifts they were, and he went out into the court and saw men who carried on their shoulders earth with the flowers and all. And he bade him bring these men into the house and deposit the earth they were carrying in the portico; and Belisarius together with his guards- 533 A.D.

ροις ἥκοντα, αὐτόν τε κατακλίνεσθαι ἐν τῇ γῇ ἐκείνῃ καὶ τὰ ἄνθη ἐσθίειν, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις αὐτὸ[1] *δὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐγκελεύεσθαι, κατακλινομένοις τε σφίσι καὶ ἐσθίουσιν ὥσπερ ἐπὶ στιβάδος ἡδεῖαν κομιδῇ τὴν βρῶσιν φανῆναι. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ ὀνείρου ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχεν.*

6 *Ὁ δὲ ξύμπας στόλος τῇ στρατηγίδι νηὶ εἵπετο, καὶ προσέσχον Περίνθῳ, ἣ νῦν Ἡράκλεια ἐπικαλεῖται, ἔνθα δὴ πέντε ἡμερῶν χρόνος τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐτρίβη, ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἵπποις ὅτι μάλιστα πλείστοις τὸν στρατηγὸν ἐνταῦθα ἐδωρεῖτο ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἱπποφορβίων, ἃ οἱ νέμονται ἐς τὰ*
7 *ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης χωρία. ὅθεν δὴ ἀπάραντες Ἀβύδῳ προσωρμίσαντο, καὶ σφίσι ξυνέπεσε τῇδε διὰ τὴν νηνεμίαν ἡμέρας διατρίβουσι τέσσαρας πρᾶγμα*
8 *τοιόνδε ξυνενεχθῆναι. Μασσαγέται δύο τῶν τινα ἑταίρων ἐν τῇ ἀκρατοποσίᾳ ἐρεσχελοῦντα σφᾶς, ἅτε οἰνωμένω, ἀνειλέτην. πάντων γὰρ ἀνθρώπων μάλιστά εἰσιν ἀκρατοπόται οἱ Μασσαγέται.*
9 *Βελισάριος οὖν αὐτίκα τὼ ἄνδρε τούτω ἐν τῷ κολωνῷ ὃς ἄγχι*[2] *Ἀβύδου ἐστὶν ἀνεσκολόπισε.*
10 *καὶ ἐπειδὴ οἵ τε ἄλλοι καὶ οἱ τοῖν ἀνδροῖν ξυγγενεῖς ἐδυσχέραινόν τε καὶ ἔφασκον οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὑπεύθυνοι εἶναι Ῥωμαίων νόμοις ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἥκειν (τὰ γὰρ δὴ σφῶν νόμιμα οὐ τοιάσδε τῶν φόνων ποιεῖσθαι τὰς τίσεις), ξυνεθρύλλουν δὲ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν αἰτίαν καὶ στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι οἷς δὴ ἐπιμελὲς ἐγεγόνει τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων μὴ εἶναι δίκας, τούς τε Μασσαγέτας καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα ξυγκαλέσας*

[1] *αὐτὸ* MSS. : *ταὐτὸ* Herwerden, approved by Christ.
[2] *ἄγχι* VP : *ἄγχιστα* O.

men came there, and he himself reclined on that earth and ate of the flowers, and urged the others to do likewise; and as they reclined and ate, as if upon a couch, the food seemed to them exceedingly sweet. Such, then, was the vision of the dream.

And the whole fleet followed the general's ship, and they put in at Perinthus, which is now called Heracleia,[1] where five days' time was spent by the army, since at that place the general received as a present from the emperor an exceedingly great number of horses from the royal pastures, which are kept for him in the territory of Thrace. And setting sail from there, they anchored off Abydus, and it came about as they were delaying there four days on account of the lack of wind that the following event took place. Two Massagetae killed one of their comrades who was ridiculing them, in the midst of their intemperate drinking; for they were intoxicated. For of all men the Massagetae are the most intemperate drinkers. Belisarius, accordingly, straightway impaled these two men on the hill which is near Abydus. And since all, and especially the relatives of these two men, were angry and declared that it was not in order to be punished nor to be subject to the laws of the Romans that they had entered into an alliance (for their own laws did not make the punishment for murder such as this, they said); and since they were joined in voicing the accusation against the general even by Roman soldiers, who were anxious that there should be no punishment for their offences, Belisarius called together both the Massagetae and the rest of the army and spoke as

[1] Eregli, on the Sea of Marmora.

11 Βελισάριος ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Εἰ μὲν πρὸς ἄνδρας
νῦν πρῶτον εἰς πόλεμον καθισταμένους οἱ λόγοι
ἐγίνοντο, μακροῦ ἄν μοι ἐδέησε χρόνου[1] λέξαντα
πεῖσαι ὑμᾶς[2] ἡλίκον ἐστὶν ἐφόδιον εἰς τροπαίου
12 κτῆσιν τὸ δίκαιον. οἱ γὰρ οὐκ ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὰς
τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων τύχας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ μόναις
13 οἴονται εἶναι τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας. ὑμεῖς δέ, οἳ
πολλάκις μὲν νενικήκατε πολεμίους οὔτε[3] τοῖς
σώμασιν ἐλασσουμένους καὶ πρὸς ἀνδρίαν ἱκανῶς
πεφυκότας, πολλάκις δὲ τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν πείρᾳ
γεγένησθε, οὐκ ἀγνοεῖτε, οἶμαι, ὡς μάχονται μὲν
ἐξ ἑκατέρας ἀεὶ στρατιᾶς ἄνθρωποι, βραβεύει δὲ
ὁ θεὸς ὅπως ποτὲ αὐτῷ δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου
14 δίδωσι κράτος. ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει, τήν
τε τοῦ σώματος εὐεξίαν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις
ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ πολέμου παρα-
σκευὴν περὶ ἐλάσσονος προσήκει τοῦ τε δικαίου
15 καὶ τῶν εἰς θεὸν ἡκόντων ποιεῖσθαι. τὸ γὰρ
μάλιστα ξυνενεγκεῖν τοῖς δεομένοις δυνάμενον
16 μᾶλλον ἂν εἰκότως πρὸς ἐκείνων τιμῷτο. πρῶτον
δ' ἂν τοῦ δικαίου γένοιτο γνώρισμα ἡ τῶν ἀδίκως
ἀνῃρηκότων ποινή. εἰ γὰρ τό τε δίκαιον καὶ τὸ
ἄδικον κρίνειν τε καὶ ὀνομάζειν ἐκ τῶν εἰς τοὺς
πέλας ἀεὶ πρασσομένων ἐπάναγκες, οὐδὲν ἂν
17 γένοιτο μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔντιμον. εἰ
δέ τις βάρβαρος, ὅτι τὸν ξυγγενῆ μεθύων ἀνεῖλεν,
ἀξιοῖ συγγνώμονα ἔχειν τὴν δίκην, δι' ὧν ἀπο-
λύεσθαι τὰς αἰτίας φησὶ χείρω εἰκότως εἶναι
18 ποιεῖ τὰ ἐγκλήματα. οὔτε γὰρ οὕτω μεθύειν

[1] χρόνου MSS.: λόγου Haury.
[2] λέξαντα πεῖσαι ὑμᾶς P: om. VO.
[3] οὔτε Dindorf: οὐδὲ MSS.

follows: "If my words were addressed to men now for the first time entering into war, it would require a long time for me to convince you by speech how great a help justice is for gaining the victory. For those who do not understand the fortunes of such struggles think that the outcome of war lies in strength of arm alone. But you, who have often conquered an enemy not inferior to you in strength of body and well endowed with valour, you who have often tried your strength against your opponents, you, I think, are not ignorant that, while it is men who always do the fighting in either army, it is God who judges the contest as seems best to Him and bestows the victory in battle. Now since this is so, it is fitting to consider good bodily condition and practice in arms and all the other provision for war of less account than justice and those things which pertain to God. For that which may possibly be of greatest advantage to men in need would naturally be honoured by them above all other things. Now the first proof of justice would be the punishment of those who have committed unjust murder. For if it is incumbent upon us to sit in judgment upon the actions which from time to time are committed by men toward their neighbours, and to adjudge and to name the just and the unjust action, we should find that nothing is more precious to a man than his life. And if any barbarian who has slain his kinsman expects to find indulgence in his trial on the ground that he was drunk, in all fairness he makes the charge so much the worse by reason of the very circumstance by which, as he alleges, his guilt is removed. For it is not right for a man under

ἄξιον ἄλλως τε καὶ τὸν ἐν στρατοπέδῳ βαδίζοντα, ὥστε ἀναιρεῖν τοὺς φιλτάτους ἑτοίμως, ἀλλ' αὐτή γε ἡ μέθη, κἂν ὁ φόνος ἥκιστα ἐπιγένηται, ποινῆς ἀξία, τό τε ξυγγενὲς ἀδικούμενον περὶ πλείονος ἂν τῶν οὐ προσηκόντων ἐς τιμωρίαν τοῖς γε νοῦν
19 ἔχουσι φαίνοιτο. τὸ μὲν οὖν παράδειγμα καὶ ἡ τῶν πραττομένων ἀπόβασις ὁποία ποτέ ἐστιν
20 ὁρᾶν πάρεστιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ προσήκει μήτε χειρῶν ἄρχειν ἀδίκων μήτε τι φέρεσθαι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων· ὡς οὐ περιόψομαί γε οὐδὲ ὑμῶν τινα συστρατιώτην ἐμὸν ἡγήσομαι εἶναι, κἂν πάνυ φοβερὸς τοῖς πολεμίοις εἶναι δοκῇ ὃς ἂν μὴ καθαραῖς ταῖς
21 χερσὶν ἐς τοὺς ἀντιπάλους δύνηται χρῆσθαι. τὸ γὰρ ἀνδρεῖον οὐκ ἂν νικῴη μὴ μετὰ τοῦ δικαίου
22 ταττόμενον."[1] Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν. ἡ δὲ στρατιὰ ξύμπασα, ἐπειδὴ τά τε λεγόμενα ἤκουσαν καὶ ἐς τὼ ἀνεσκολοπισμένω ἀνέβλεψαν,[2] ἐς δέος τι ἀμήχανον ἦλθον καὶ σωφρόνως βιοτεύειν ἐν νῷ ἔλαβον, ὡς οὐκ ἔξω κινδύνου μεγάλου ἐσόμενοι, ἤν τι οὐκ ἔννομον ποιοῦντες ἁλοῖεν.

XIII

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἐφρόντιζε Βελισάριος ὅπως τε ὁ ξύμπας στόλος ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ[3] πλέοι καὶ ἐς
2 χωρίον ταὐτὸ προσορμίζοιτο. ᾔδει[4] γὰρ ὡς ἐν μεγάλῳ στόλῳ, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἢν τραχεῖς σφίσιν

[1] ταττόμενον PO: πραττόμενον V.
[2] ἀνέβλεψαν O: ἀπέβλεψαν VP.

any circumstances, and especially when serving in an army, to be so drunk as readily to kill his dearest friends; nay, the drunkenness itself, even if the murder is not added at all, is worthy of punishment; and when a kinsman is wronged, the crime would clearly be of greater moment as regards punishment than when committed against those who are not kinsmen, at least in the eyes of men of sense. Now the example is before you and you may see what sort of an outcome such actions have. But as for you, it is your duty to avoid laying violent hands upon anyone without provocation, or carrying off the possessions of others; for I shall not overlook it, be assured, and I shall not consider anyone of you a fellow-soldier of mine, no matter how terrible he is reputed to be to the foe, who is not able to use clean hands against the enemy. For bravery cannot be victorious unless it be arrayed along with justice." So spoke Belisarius. And the whole army, hearing what was said and looking up at the two men impaled, felt an overwhelming fear come over them and took thought to conduct their lives with moderation, for they saw that they would not be free from great danger if they should be caught doing anything unlawful.

XIII

After this Belisarius bethought him how his whole fleet should always keep together as it sailed and should anchor in the same place. For he knew that in a large fleet, and especially if rough winds should

[3] ταὐτὰ PO: ταῦτα V. [4] ᾔδει VO: ἤδη P.

ἄνεμοι ἐπιπέσοιεν, ἐπάναγκες ἀπολείπεσθαί τε
τῶν νεῶν πολλὰς καὶ σκεδάννυσθαι ἐς τὸ πέλα-
γος, οὐκ εἰδέναι τε αὐτῶν τοὺς κυβερνήτας
ὁποίαις ποτὲ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἀναγομένων[1] ἕπε-
3 σθαι ἄμεινον. λογισάμενος οὖν ἐποίει τάδε. τριῶν
νεῶν, ἐν αἷς αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ θεραπεία ἔπλει, τὰ
ἱστία ἐκ γωνίας τῆς ἄνω καὶ ἐς τριτημόριον
μάλιστα ἔχρισε μίλτῳ, κοντούς τε ὀρθοὺς ἀνα-
στήσας ἐν πρύμνῃ ἑκάστῃ ἀπεκρέμασεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν
λύχνα, ὅπως ἔν τε ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ αἱ τοῦ στρα-
τηγοῦ νῆες ἔκδηλοι εἶεν· αἷς δὴ ἕπεσθαι τοὺς
4 κυβερνήτας ἐκέλευε πάντας. οὕτω τε τῶν νεῶν
τῶν τριῶν ἡγουμένων παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τετύχηκεν
αὐτῶν οὐδεμίαν ἀπολελεῖφθαι. ὅτε μέντοι ἐκ
λιμένος ἀπαίρειν μέλλοιεν, ἐσήμαινον αὐτοῖς αἱ
σάλπιγγες τοῦτο.
5 Ἐκ δὲ Ἀβύδου ἀναχθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς ἄνεμοι
σκληροὶ ἐπιπεσόντες ἤγαγον εἰς τὸ Σίγειον.
αὖθίς τε νηνεμίᾳ χρησάμενοι σχολαίτεροι ἐς
Μαλέαν ἦλθον, ἔνθα δὴ αὐτοῖς ἡ νηνεμία ξυνήνεγ-
6 κεν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. ἅτε γὰρ ἐν στόλῳ μεγάλῳ
καὶ ναυσὶν ὑπερμεγέθεσι, νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης, ἡ
στενοχωρία ξυνετάραξέ τε ἅπαντα καὶ ἐς ἔσχατον
7 κινδύνου[2] ἤνεγκεν. ἐνταῦθα οἵ τε κυβερνῆται
καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ναῦται ἀρετὴν ἐπεδείξαντο, βοῇ τε
καὶ πατάγῳ πολλῷ χρώμενοι καὶ τοῖς κοντοῖς
διωθούμενοι, ἐμπείρως τε ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰς δια-
στάσεις ποιούμενοι, ὥστε εἰ καὶ πνεῦμα ἐπί-
φορον ἢ καὶ ἀπ' ἐναντίας αὐτοῖς ἐπεγένετο, μόλις
ἂν οἱ ναῦταί μοι δοκεῖ σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς
8 ναῦς διεσώσαντο. νῦν δὲ οὕτως ὥσπερ εἴρηται

[1] ἀναγομένων PO : ἀγομένων V. [2] κινδύνου PO : κίνδυνον V.

assail them, it was inevitable that many of the ships should be left behind and scattered on the open sea, and that their pilots should not know which of the ships that put to sea ahead of them it was better to follow. So after considering the matter, he did as follows. The sails of the three ships in which he and his following were carried he painted red from the upper corner for about one third of their length, and he erected upright poles on the prow of each, and hung lights from them, so that both by day and by night the general's ships might be distinguishable; then he commanded all the pilots to follow these ships. Thus with the three ships leading the whole fleet not a single ship was left behind. And whenever they were about to put out from a harbour, the trumpets announced this to them.

And upon setting out from Abydus they met with strong winds which carried them to Sigeum. And again in calm weather they proceeded more leisurely to Malea, where the calm proved of the greatest advantage to them. For since they had a great fleet and exceedingly large ships, as night came on everything was thrown into confusion by reason of their being crowded into small space, and they were brought into extreme peril. At that time both the pilots and the rest of the sailors shewed themselves skilful and efficient, for while shouting at the top of their voices and making a great noise they kept pushing the ships apart with their poles, and cleverly kept the distances between their different vessels; but if a wind had arisen, whether a following or a head wind, it seems to me that the sailors would hardly have preserved themselves and their ships. But as

διαφυγόντες Ταινάρῳ προσέμιξαν, ἣ νῦν Καινού-
9 πολις ἐπικαλεῖται. εἶτα ἐνθένδε ὁρμηθέντες
Μεθώνῃ προσέσχον, εὗρόν τε ὀλίγῳ πρότερον
τοὺς ἀμφὶ Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ Μαρτῖνον αὐτόσε
10 ἀφικομένους. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἄνεμοι οὐκ ἐπέπνεον[1]
σφίσι, τὰς μὲν ναῦς Βελισάριος ἐνταῦθα ὥρμισε,
τὸ δὲ στράτευμα ἀπεβίβασεν ἅπαν, καὶ ἀπο-
βάντας τούς τε ἄρχοντας διεκόσμησε καὶ τοὺς
11 στρατιώτας διέτασσε. ταῦτά τε αὐτοῦ διέποντος
καὶ ἀνέμων ἥκιστα ἐπιγινομένων, ἐπῆλθε πολλοῖς
τῶν στρατιωτῶν νόσῳ διαφθαρῆναι ἐξ αἰτίας
τοιᾶσδε.
12 Ὁ τῆς αὐλῆς ἔπαρχος[2] Ἰωάννης φλαῦρός τε
ἦν τὸν τρόπον καὶ οὕτω δυνατὸς εἰς τὸ προσαγ-
αγεῖν[3] εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἐπινοῆσαι χρήματα ἐπὶ
λύμῃ ἀνθρώπων, ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἔγωγε φράσαι
13 ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν καὶ ἐν[4] τοῖς
ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις[5] ἐρρήθη, ἡνίκα πρὸς[6] τῆς
14 ἱστορίας ἐς τόδε ἡγόμην τοῦ λόγου. τὰ δὲ νῦν
ὅτῳ ποτὲ τρόπῳ τούτους δὴ τοὺς στρατιώτας διε-
15 χρήσατο ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. τὸν ἄρτον ᾧ δὴ μέλλουσιν
ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ οἱ στρατιῶται σιτίζεσθαι, δὶς[7]
μὲν ἐπάναγκες ἐς τὸν πνιγέα εἰσάγεσθαι, ἐπι-
μελῶς δὲ οὕτως ὀπτᾶσθαι ὥστε ἐξικνεῖσθαί τε
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ μὴ χρόνῳ βραχεῖ διαφθείρεσθαι,
τόν τε οὕτως ὀπτώμενον ἄρτον ἀνάγκῃ ἐλάσσω
τὸν σταθμὸν ἕλκειν·[8] καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ταῖς
τοιαῖσδε ἀρτοδαισίαις εἰώθασιν οἱ στρατιῶται

[1] ἐπέπνεον V : ἔπνεον PO. [2] ἔπαρχος V : ὕπαρχος PO.
[3] εἰς τὸ προσαγαγεῖν P : om. VO.
[4] καὶ ἐν Haury : καὶ MSS., κἂν Dindorf.
[5] λόγοις VP : χρόνοις O. [6] πρὸς V : πρὸ PO.
[7] δὶς VP : διὸ O. [8] ἕλκειν VOP corr. : ἔχειν P pr. m.

it was, they escaped, as I have said, and put in at Taenarum, which is now called Caenopolis.[1] Then, pressing on from there, they touched at Methone, and found Valerian and Martinus with their men, who had reached the same place a short time before. And since there were no winds blowing, Belisarius anchored the ships there, and disembarked the whole army; and after they were on shore he assigned the commanders their positions and drew up the soldiers. And while he was thus engaged and no wind at all arose, it came about that many of the soldiers were destroyed by disease caused in the following manner.

The pretorian prefect, John, was a man of worthless character, and so skilful at devising ways of bringing money into the public treasury to the detriment of men that I, for my part, should never be competent to describe this trait of his. But this has been said in the preceding pages, when I was brought to this point by my narrative.[2] But I shall tell in the present case in what manner he destroyed the soldiers. The bread which soldiers are destined to eat in camp must of necessity be put twice into the oven, and be cooked so carefully as to last for a very long period and not spoil in a short time, and loaves cooked in this way necessarily weigh less; and for this reason, when such bread is distributed, the soldiers generally received as their

[1] Cape Matapan.
[2] Book I. xxiv. 12–15; xxv. 8–10.

τοῦ συνειθισμένου σταθμοῦ τὸ τεταρτημόριον
16 ἀποτέμνεσθαι.[1] Ἰωάννης οὖν λογισάμενος ὅπως
ἐλάσσω τε τὰ ξύλα καὶ τὸν μισθὸν τοῖς ἀρτο-
ποιοῖς ἥσσονα δοίη, καὶ ὅπως οἱ οὐκ ἐνδεὴς ὁ
σταθμὸς εἴη, ὠμὸν ἔτι τὸν ἄρτον ἐς τὸ δημόσιον
βαλανεῖον ἐσκομίσας τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, οὗ δὴ ἔνερθεν
17 τὸ πῦρ καίεται, καταθέσθαι ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ
ἀμωσγέπως ὀπτᾶσθαι ἐδόκει, ἐμβαλὼν θυλακίοις
18 ἐνθέμενός τε ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἔστελλε. καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ
στόλος ἐς Μεθώνην ἀφίκετο, διαρρυέντες οἱ ἄρτοι
ἐπανῆκον αὖθις ἐς ἄλευρα, οὐχ ὑγιᾶ μέντοι,
σεσηπότα δὲ καὶ εὐρωτιῶντα καί τινα ὀσμὴν ἤδη
19 βαρεῖαν φέροντα. ἐχορήγουν τε αὐτὰ τοῖς στρα-
τιώταις πρὸς μέτρον οἷς προσέκειτο ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη,
χοίνιξί τε ἤδη καὶ μεδίμνοις τὴν ἀρτοδαισίαν
20 ποιούμενοι. τούτοις δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ὥρᾳ θέρους
ἐν χωρίῳ αὐχμοὺς ἔχοντι[2] σιτιζόμενοι ἐνόσησάν
τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ πεντα-
κόσιοι·[3] ὃ δὴ καὶ τοῖς πλείοσι ξυμπεσεῖν ἔμελλεν,
ἀλλὰ[4] Βελισάριος διεκώλυσεν, ἄρτους αὐτοῖς
ἐπιχωρίους χορηγεῖσθαι κελεύσας. βασιλεῖ δὲ
τὸ πρᾶγμα δηλώσας αὐτὸς μὲν ηὐδοκίμησεν, οὐ
μήν τινα τότε Ἰωάννῃ ζημίαν ἤνεγκε.
21 Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐγένετο. ἐκ δὲ Μεθώνης
ὁρμηθέντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸν Ζακυνθίων λιμένα,

[1] The comparative idea is required to govern σταθμοῦ. ἐπαποτέμνεσθαι?

[2] αὐχμοὺς ἔχοντι VP : αὐχμηρῷ O.

[3] ἀπέθανον οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ πεντακόσιοι VP in marg. O : ἐν ὀλίγῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἀπέθανον πεντακόσιοι P in context.

[4] ἀλλὰ VP pr. m. : εἰ μὴ P corr. O.

portion one-fourth more than the usual weight.[1] John, therefore, calculating how he might reduce the amount of firewood used and have less to pay to the bakers in wages, and also how he might not lose in the weight of the bread, brought the still uncooked dough to the public baths of Achilles, in the basement of which the fire is kept burning, and bade his men set it down there. And when it seemed to be cooked in some fashion or other, he threw it into bags, put it on the ships, and sent it off. And when the fleet arrived at Methone, the loaves disintegrated and returned again to flour, not wholesome flour, however, but rotten and becoming mouldy and already giving out a sort of oppressive odour. And the loaves were dispensed by measure[2] to the soldiers by those to whom this office was assigned, and they were already making the distribution of the bread by quarts and bushels. And the soldiers, feeding upon this in the summer time in a place where the climate is very hot, became sick, and not less than five hundred of them died; and the same thing was about to happen to more, but Belisarius prevented it by ordering the bread of the country to be furnished them. And reporting the matter to the emperor, he himself gained in favour, but he did not at that time bring any punishment upon John.

These events, then, took place in the manner described. And setting out from Methone they reached

[1] The ration of this twice-baked bread represented for the same weight one-fourth more wheat than when issued in the once-baked bread. He was evidently paid on the basis of so much per ration, in weight, of the once-baked bread, but on account of the length of the voyage the other kind was requisitioned.

[2] Instead of by weight.

ἔνθα δὴ ὕδωρ τε ἐμβεβλημένοι ὅσον σφίσιν ἐξικνεῖσθαι ἔμελλε τὸ Ἀδριατικὸν πέλαγος διαπλέουσι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παρασκευασάμενοι
22 ἔπλεον. ἀνέμου δὲ σφίσι μαλακοῦ τε καὶ νωθροῦ κομιδῇ ἐπιπνεύσαντος ἑκκαιδεκαταῖοι κατέπλευσαν τῆς Σικελίας ἐς χῶρον ἔρημον, οὗ τὸ
23 ὄρος ἐγγὺς ἡ Αἴτνη ἀνέχει. ἐν δὲ τῷ διάπλῳ τούτῳ διατρίψασιν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ξυνέπεσεν ἅπασι διαφθαρῆναι τὰ ὕδατα, πλήν γε δὴ οὗ Βελισάριός τε αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ξυμπόται ἔπινον.
24 τοῦτο γὰρ διεσώσατο μόνον ἡ Βελισαρίου γυνὴ τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἀμφορέας ἐξ ὑάλου πεποιημένους ὕδατος ἐμπλησαμένη οἰκίσκον τε ἐκ σανίδων ποιήσασα ἐν κοίλῃ νηὶ ἔνθα δὴ τῷ ἡλίῳ ἐσιέναι ἀδύνατα ἦν, ἐνταῦθα ἐς ψάμμον τοὺς ἀμφορέας κατέχωσε, ταύτῃ τε ἀπαθὲς τὸ ὕδωρ διέμεινε. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔσχε.

XIV

Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἀπέβη, ἀπορούμενός τε ἤσχαλλε καὶ ἔστρεφεν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι ἐπὶ τίνας ποτὲ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς Βανδίλους ἴοι, ἢ ὁποίους ποτὲ τὰ πολέμια, μηδὲ ὅτῳ τρόπῳ ἢ ὁπόθεν ποτὲ σφίσιν
2 ὁρμωμένοις πολεμητέα εἴη. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατιῶται ξυνετάρασσον, κατωρρωδηκότες τε τὴν ναυμαχίαν καὶ προλέγειν ἥκιστα αἰσχυνόμενοι ὡς, ἢν μέν τις σφᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἀποβήσειε, πειράσονται ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γίγνεσθαι, ἢν δὲ πολέμια πλοῖα ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἴοι, ἐς φυγὴν

the harbour of Zacynthus, where they took in enough water to last them in crossing the Adriatic Sea, and after making all their other preparations, sailed on. But since the wind they had was very gentle and languid, it was only on the sixteenth day that they came to land at a deserted place in Sicily near which Mount Aetna rises. And while they were being delayed in this passage, as has been said, it so happened that the water of the whole fleet was spoiled, except that which Belisarius himself and his table-companions were drinking. For this alone was preserved by the wife of Belisarius in the following manner. She filled with water jars made of glass and constructed a small room with planks in the hold of the ship where it was impossible for the sun to penetrate, and there she sank the jars in sand, and by this means the water remained unaffected. So much, then, for this.

XIV

And as soon as Belisarius had disembarked upon the island, he began to feel restless, knowing not how to proceed, and his mind was tormented by the thought that he did not know what sort of men the Vandals were against whom he was going, and how strong they were in war, or in what manner the Romans would have to wage the war, or what place would be their base of operations. But most of all he was disturbed by the soldiers, who were in mortal dread of sea-fighting and had no shame in saying beforehand that, if they should be disembarked on the land, they would try to show themselves brave men in the battle, but if hostile ships assailed them, they would

τραπήσονται· οὐ γὰρ οἷοί τέ εἰσι πολεμίοις τε
3 ἀνδράσι καὶ ὕδασι διαμάχεσθαι. τούτοις οὖν ἅπασιν ἀπορούμενος Προκόπιον τὸν αὑτοῦ πάρεδρον ἔστελλεν ἐς Συρακούσας, πευσόμενόν τε ἤν τινες τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐνέδραι εἰσὶ προλοχίζουσαι τὸν διάπλουν ἢ ἐν νήσῳ ἢ ἐν ἠπείρῳ, καὶ ὅπη μὲν τῆς Λιβύης προσορμίσασθαι σφίσιν ἄμεινον ἂν εἴη, ὁπόθεν δὲ ὁρμωμένοις τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς Βαν-
4 δίλους διενεγκεῖν ξυνοίσει. ἐπὰν δὲ τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ποιοίη, ἐπανήκοντά οἱ ἐκέλευεν ἐς Καύκανα τὸ χωρίον ξυμμῖξαι, διακοσίοις μάλιστα σταδίοις Συρακουσῶν διέχον, οὗ δὴ αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ ξύμπας
5 στόλος ὁρμίσασθαι ἔμελλε. τῷ δὲ λόγῳ τροφὰς αὐτὸν ἔπεμπεν ὠνησόμενον, ἅτε τῶν Γότθων ἀγορὰν σφίσιν ἐθελόντων διδόναι, δόξαν τοῦτο βασιλεῖ τε Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ Ἀμαλασούνθῃ τῇ Ἀταλαρίχου μητρί, ὃς τότε παῖς τε ὢν καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ Ἀμαλασούνθῃ τρεφόμενος εἶχε τὸ Γότ-
6 θων τε καὶ Ἰταλιωτῶν κράτος. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ Θευδέριχος τετελευτήκει[1] καὶ ἐς τὸν θυγατριδοῦν Ἀταλάριχον, ὀρφανὸν τοῦ πατρὸς ἤδη πρότερον γεγονότα, ἡ βασιλεία ἧκε, δειμαίνουσα ἡ Ἀμαλασοῦνθα περί τε τῷ παιδὶ καὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φίλον Ἰουστινιανὸν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἑταιρισαμένη τά τε ἄλλα ἐπήκουεν αὐτῷ ἐπιτάττοντι καὶ τότε ἀγορὰν διδόναι τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ ἐποίει ταῦτα.

7 Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Συρακούσαις Προκόπιος καὶ ἀνδρὸς παρὰ δόξαν ἐπιτυχὼν πολίτου μέν οἱ καὶ φίλου ὑπάρχοντος ἐκ παιδός, ἐπ' ἐργασίᾳ δὲ τῇ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ ἐν Συρακούσαις

[1] τετελευτήκει VO : ἐτεθνήκει P.

turn to flight; for, they said, they were not able to contend against two enemies at once, both men and water. Being at a loss, therefore, because of all these things, he sent Procopius, his adviser, to Syracuse, to find out whether the enemy had any ships in ambush keeping watch over the passage across the sea, either on the island or on the continent, and where it would be best for them to anchor in Libya, and from what point as base it would be advantageous for them to start in carrying on the war against the Vandals. And he bade him, when he should have accomplished his commands, return and meet him at the place called Caucana,[1] about two hundred stades distant from Syracuse, where both he and the whole fleet were to anchor. But he let it be understood that he was sending him to buy provisions, since the Goths were willing to give them a market, this having been decided upon by the Emperor Justinian and Amalasountha, the mother of Antalaric,[2] who was at that time a boy being reared under the care of his mother, Amalasountha, and held sway over both the Goths and the Italians. For when Theoderic had died and the kingdom came to his nephew, Antalaric, who had already before this lost his father, Amalasountha was fearful both for her child and for the kingdom and cultivated the friendship of Justinian very carefully, and she gave heed to his commands in all matters and at that time promised to provide a market for his army and did so.

Now when Procopius reached Syracuse, he unexpectedly met a man who had been a fellow-citizen and friend of his from childhood, who had been living in Syracuse for a long time engaged in the

[1] Now Porto Lombardo. [2] Or Athalaric.

8 ᾠκημένου, ἐπύθετο ὅσων[1] ἔχρηζεν· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ
ἀνὴρ οἰκέτην αὐτῷ ἐπέδειξε, τριταῖόν οἱ ἐκείνῃ τῇ
ἡμέρᾳ ἐκ Καρχηδόνος ἥκοντα, ὃς δὴ ἔφασκεν ὡς
οὐδέ τινα πρὸς Βανδίλων ἐνέδραν τῷ στόλῳ
9 ἔσεσθαι ἄξιον εἶναι ὑφορᾶσθαι. πρὸς οὐδενὸς
γὰρ ἐκείνους ἀνθρώπων πεπύσθαι στράτευμα ἐπ'
αὐτοὺς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ ἰέναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ
στρατεύσασθαι ὀλίγῳ[2] ἔμπροσθεν ἐπὶ Γώδαν εἴ
10 τι ἐν Βανδίλοις δραστήριον ἦν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα
Γελίμερα πολέμιον οὐδὲν ἐννοοῦντα, Καρχηδόνος
τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ὠλιγορηκότα τῶν ἐπὶ
θαλάσσῃ χωρίων, ἐν Ἑρμιόνῃ διατριβὴν ἔχειν,
ἥ ἐστιν ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἡμερῶν τεττάρων ὁδῷ τῆς
ἠιόνος διέχουσα· ὥστε πάρεστιν αὐτοῖς πλεῖν τε
οὐδὲν δειμαίνουσι δύσκολον καὶ προσορμίζεσθαι
11 ἔνθα ἂν αὐτοὺς τὸ πνεῦμα καλοίη. ταῦτα Προ-
κόπιος ἀκούσας τῆς τε χειρὸς τοῦ οἰκέτου λαβό-
μενος ἐπὶ τὸν λιμένα ἐβάδιζε τὴν Ἀρέθουσαν,
ἔνθα δή οἱ τὸ πλοῖον ὡρμίζετο, πυνθανόμενός τε
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου συχνὰ καὶ διερευνώμενος ἕκαστα.
ἐσβὰς δὲ ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς τὴν ναῦν αἴρεσθαί τε τὰ
ἱστία ἐκέλευσε καὶ πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐς Καύ-
12 κανα. καὶ ἐπεὶ ὁ τοῦ οἰκέτου δεσπότης ἐπὶ τῆς
ἠιόνος θαυμάζων εἱστήκει ὅτι οἱ οὐκ ἀπεδίδου τὸν
ἄνθρωπον, ἀναβοήσας Προκόπιος, πλεούσης ἤδη
13 τῆς νεώς, παρῃτεῖτο μή οἱ χαλεπῶς ἔχειν· χρῆναι
γὰρ τὸν οἰκέτην τῷ τε στρατηγῷ συμμῖξαι καὶ ἐς
τὴν Λιβύην τῷ στρατῷ καθηγησάμενον οὐκ ἐς
μακρὰν εἰς τὰς Συρακούσας ἐπανήκειν, χρήματα
μεγάλα περιβαλλόμενον.

[1] ἐπύθετο ὅσων VO: ἐπεύθετο ὅσον P.
[2] ὀλίγῳ PO: ὀλίγον V.

shipping business, and he learned from him what he wanted; for this man showed him a domestic who had three days before that very day come from Carthage, and he said that they need not suspect that there would be any ambush set for the fleet by the Vandals. For from no one in the world had they learned that an army was coming against them at that time, but all the active men among the Vandals had actually a little before gone on an expedition against Godas. And for this reason Gelimer, with no thought of an enemy in his mind and regardless of Carthage and all the other places on the sea, was staying in Hermione, which is in Byzacium, four days' journey distant from the coast; so that it was possible for them to sail without fearing any difficulty and to anchor wherever the wind should call them. When Procopius heard this, he took the hand of the domestic and walked to the harbour of Arethousa where his boat lay at anchor, making many enquiries of the man and searching out every detail. And going on board the ship with him, he gave orders to raise the sails and to make all speed for Caucana. And since the master of the domestic stood on the shore wondering that he did not give him back the man, Procopius shouted out, when the ship was already under way, begging him not to be angry with him; for it was necessary that the domestic should meet the general, and, after leading the army to Libya, would return after no long time to Syracuse with much money in his pocket.

14 Ἀφικόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὰ Καύκανα εὑρίσκουσιν ἅπαντας ἐν πένθει μεγάλῳ. Δωρόθεος γὰρ ὁ τῶν ἐν Ἀρμενίοις καταλόγων στρατηγὸς ἐνταῦθα ἐτετελευτήκει, πολὺν αὑτοῦ πόθον τῷ παντὶ
15 στρατοπέδῳ ἀπολιπών. Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεί οἱ ὅ τε οἰκέτης ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθε καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἔφρασε, περιχαρὴς γενόμενος καὶ Προκόπιον πολλὰ ἐπαινέσας, ἐκέλευσε σημῆναι τὸν ἀπόπλουν
16 ταῖς σάλπιγξιν. ἀράμενοί τε κατὰ τάχος τὰ ἱστία, Γαύλῳ τε καὶ Μελίτῃ ταῖς νήσοις προσέσχον, αἳ τό τε Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πέλαγος
17 διορίζουσιν. ἔνθα δὴ αὐτοῖς Εὔρου πολύ τι πνεῦμα ἐπιπεσὸν τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ τὰς ναῦς ἐς τὴν Λιβύης ἀκτὴν ἤνεγκεν ἐς χωρίον, ὃ δὴ Κεφαλὴν Βράχους τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. Καπούτβαδα γὰρ ὁ τόπος προσαγορεύεται, πέντε ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν[1] εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ Καρχηδόνος διέχων.

XV

Ἐπεὶ δὲ τῆς ἠιόνος ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο, τά τε ἱστία κατατίθεσθαι ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐκέλευε καὶ ἀγκύρας ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν ἀπορριψαμένους ἀνακωχεύειν, τούς τε ἄρχοντας συγκαλέσας ἐς τὴν αὑτοῦ ναῦν ξύμπαντας βουλὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀποβάσεως προὔθηκεν.
2 ἔνθα δὴ ἄλλοι τε λόγοι πολλοὶ ἐλέχθησαν ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα φέροντες καὶ παρελθὼν Ἀρχέλαος ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Τοῦ μὲν στρατηγοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἄγαμαι, ὃς καὶ γνώμῃ παρὰ πολὺ νικῶν ξύμπαντας καὶ τῆς ἐμπειρίας ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκων, ἔχων τε τὸ

[1] ὁδὸν V : ὁδῷ O.

But upon coming to Caucana they found all in deep grief. For Dorotheus, the general of the troops of Armenia, had died there, leaving to the whole army a great sense of loss. But Belisarius, when the domestic had come before him and related his whole story, became exceedingly glad, and after bestowing many praises upon Procopius, he issued orders to give the signal for departure with the trumpets. And setting sail quickly they touched at the islands of Gaulus and Melita,[1] which mark the boundary between the Adriatic and Tuscan Seas. There a strong east wind arose for them, and on the following day it carried the ships to the point of Libya, at the place which the Romans call in their own tongue "Shoal's Head." For its name is "Caputvada," and it is five days' journey from Carthage for an unencumbered traveller.

XV

And when they came near the shore, the general bade them furl the sails, throw out anchors from the ships, and make a halt; and calling together all the commanders to his own ship, he opened a discussion with regard to the disembarkation. Thereupon many speeches were made inclining to either side, and Archelaus came forward and spoke as follows:

"I admire, indeed, the virtue of our general, who, while surpassing all by far in judgment and possessing the greatest wealth of experience, and at

[1] Now Gozzo and Malta.

κράτος αὐτός, ἐς μέσον μὲν τὴν βουλὴν προὔθηκε,
κελεύει δὲ λέγειν ἡμῶν ἕκαστον, ὥστε ὅπῃ ἂν
ἄριστα ἔχειν δοκῇ ἑλέσθαι ἡμῖν δυνατοῖς εἶναι,
παρὸν αὐτῷ γνῶναί τε μόνῳ τὰ δέοντα καὶ κατ'
3 ἐξουσίαν ἐξηγεῖσθαι ᾗ βούλοιτο. ὑμῶν δέ, ὦ
ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες (οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως[1] ἂν εἴποιμι
εὐπετῶς[2]), θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις ὅτι μὴ πρῶτος
αὐτὸς ἕκαστος πρὸς τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἀπειπεῖν
4 ἔσπευσε. καίτοι ἐπίσταμαι ὡς τὸ εἰσηγεῖσθαί
τι τοῖς ἐς κίνδυνον καθισταμένοις ὄνησιν μὲν τῷ
παραινέσαντι οὐδεμίαν ἰδίᾳ φέρει, ἐς αἰτίαν δὲ ὡς
5 τὰ πολλὰ περιίσταται. οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι καλῶς
μὲν φερόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν γνώμην ἢ τύχην
ἀναφέρουσι τὰ πρασσόμενα, σφαλέντες δὲ τὸν
6 παραινέσαντα αἰτιῶνται μόνον. εἰρήσεται δὲ
ὅμως. αἰτίαν γὰρ ὑποστείλασθαι τοὺς περὶ[3]
7 σωτηρίας βουλευομένους οὐχ ὅσιον. βουλεύεσθε
ἐς τὴν πολεμίαν ἀποβαίνειν, ἄνδρες ἄρχοντες·
τίνι λιμένι παρακαταθέσθαι τὰς ναῦς ἐννοοῦντες;
ἢ τίνος πόλεως τείχει τὸ ἐχυρὸν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
8 αὐτῶν ἕξοντες; ἢ οὐκ ἀκηκόατε ὡς ταύτην μὲν
τὴν ἀκτὴν ἐννέα ἡμερῶν ὁδόν, λέγω δὲ εἰς Ἰούκην
ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, κατατείνειν φασίν, ἀλίμενόν τε
παντελῶς οὖσαν καὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις ὅθεν ἂν ἐπι-
9 πνεύσαιεν[4] ἐκκειμένην; τεῖχος δὲ οὐδὲν ἐς πᾶσαν
Λιβύην ὅτι μὴ τὸ Καρχηδόνος ἀπολέλειπται,
10 τοῦτο Γιζερίχου βουλεύσαντος.[5] προσθείη δὲ ἂν
τις ὡς καὶ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ ὕδωρ τὸ παράπαν
ἐνδεῖν λέγουσι. φέρε γάρ, εἰ δοκεῖ, καί τι τῶν

[1] ὅπως VP : πῶς O. [2] εὐπετῶς V : εὐπρεπῶς O.
[3] περὶ V : ὑπὲρ O.
[4] ἐπιπνεύσαιεν Haury : ἐπιπνεύσοιεν V, ἐπιπνεύσειεν O.
[5] βουλεύσαντος O : βασιλεύσαντος V.

the same time holding the power alone, has proposed an open discussion and bids each one of us speak, so that we shall be able to choose whichever course seems best, though it is possible for him to decide alone on what is needful and at his leisure to put it into execution as he wishes. But as for you, my fellow officers—I do not know how I am to say it easily—one might wonder that each one did not hasten to be the first to oppose the disembarkation. And yet I understand that the making of suggestions to those who are entering upon a perilous course brings no personal advantage to him who offers the advice, but as a general thing results in bringing blame upon him. For when things go well for men, they attribute their success to their own judgment or to fortune, but when they fail, they blame only the one who has advised them. Nevertheless I shall speak out. For it is not right for those who deliberate about safety to shrink from blame. You are purposing to disembark on the enemy's land, fellow-officers; but in what harbour are you planning to place the ships in safety? Or in what city's wall will you find security for yourselves? Have you not then heard that this promontory—I mean from Carthage to Iouce—extends, they say, for a journey of nine days, altogether without harbours and lying open to the wind from whatever quarter it may blow? And not a single walled town is left in all Libya except Carthage, thanks to the decision of Gizeric.[1] And one might add that in this place, they say, water is entirely lacking. Come now, if you wish, let us

[1] Cf. III. v. 8 ff.

ἐναντίων ὑποθέμενοι τὴν διάγνωσιν ποιησώμεθα.
11 τοὺς γὰρ ἐς ἀγῶνας καθισταμένους μηδὲν προσ-
δοκᾶν· δύσκολον οὔτε ἀνθρώπινον οὔτε τῆς τῶν
12 πραγμάτων φύσεως ἄξιον. ἢν οὖν ἀποβεβηκό-
των ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον χειμὼν ἐπιπέσοι,[1] οὐκ
ἀνάγκη δυοῖν θάτερον ταῖς ναυσὶ ξυμβῆναι, ἢ
ὡς ἀπωτάτω διαφυγεῖν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς ἀπο-
13 λωλέναι ταύτης; εἶτα τίς ἡμῖν τῶν ἀναγκαίων
γενήσεται πόρος; μηδεὶς ἐς ἐμὲ βλεπέτω τὸν τῆς
δαπάνης χορηγὸν ἔπαρχον.[2] ἀρχὴν γὰρ πᾶσαν
τῆς ὑπουργίας ἐστερημένην ἐπάναγκες ἐς ὄνομά
14 τε καὶ πρόσωπον ἰδιώτου ἀποκεκρίσθαι. ποῦ δὲ
ἡμῖν τῶν ὅπλων τὰ περιττὰ καταθεμένοις ἢ ἄλλο
τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων δέχεσθαι δεήσει προσιόντα τὸν
βάρβαρον; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ λέγειν καλὸν
15 ὅπη ἐκβήσεται. ἐγὼ δὲ ἡγοῦμαι χρῆναι ἡμᾶς
εὐθὺ Καρχηδόνος ἰέναι. λιμένα γὰρ οὐ πλεῖον ἢ
τεσσαράκοντα σταδίους αὐτῆς διέχοντα εἶναί
φασιν, ὃν δὴ Στάγνον καλοῦσιν, ἀφύλακτόν τε
παντάπασιν ὄντα καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἅπαντα στόλον
ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα. ὅθεν δὴ ὁρμωμένοις ἡμῖν τὸν
16 πόλεμον διενεγκεῖν οὐ χαλεπὸν ἔσται. οἶμαι δὲ
ἔγωγε ὡς Καρχηδόνος τε ἡμᾶς ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς
κρατήσειν εἰκός, ἄλλως τε καὶ μακρὰν αὐτῆς
ἀπολελειμμένων τῶν πολεμίων, καὶ κρατήσασιν
17 οὐδὲν τοῦ λοιποῦ μοχθηρὸν ἔσεσθαι. τὰ γὰρ
ἀνθρώπεια πάντα κατειλημμένων τῶν κεφα-
λαίων καταρρεῖν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν εἴωθεν. ὧν
δὴ πάντων ἡμᾶς ἐνθυμουμένους τὰ βέλτιστα
αἱρεῖσθαι προσήκει." Ἀρχέλαος μὲν τοσαῦτα
εἶπε.

[1] ἐπιπέσοι V : ἐπιπέση O. [2] ἔπαρχον V : ὕπαρχον O.

suppose that some adversity befall us, and with this in view make the decision. For that those who enter into contests of arms should expect no difficulty is not in keeping with human experience nor with the nature of things. If, then, after we have disembarked upon the mainland, a storm should fall upon us, will it not be necessary that one of two things befall the ships, either that they flee away as far as possible, or perish upon this promontory? Secondly, what means will there be of supplying us with necessities? Let no one look to me as the officer charged with the maintenance of the army. For every official, when deprived of the means of administering his office, is of necessity reduced to the name and character of a private person. And where shall we deposit our superfluous arms or any other part of our necessaries when we are compelled to receive the attack of the barbarians? Nay, as for this, it is not well even to say how it will turn out. But I think that we ought to make straight for Carthage. For they say that there is a harbour called Stagnum not more than forty stades distant from that city, which is entirely unguarded and large enough for the whole fleet. And if we make this the base of our operations, we shall carry on the war without difficulty. And I, for my part, think it likely that we shall win Carthage by a sudden attack, especially since the enemy are far away from it, and that after we have won it we shall have no further trouble. For it is a way with all men's undertakings that when the chief point has been captured, they collapse after no long time. It behoves us, therefore, to bear in mind all these things and to choose the best course." So spoke Archelaus.

18 Βελισάριος δὲ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· “Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ
ξυνάρχοντες, ἐπιγνώμονος εἶναι τοὺς λόγους οἰέσ-
θω, μηδὲ διὰ τοῦτο ἐν ὑστάτῳ εἰρῆσθαι, ὥστε
αὐτοῖς ἕπεσθαι, ὁποῖοί ποτ᾽ ἂν ὦσιν, ἀναγκαῖον
19 ἅπασι γίγνεσθαι. ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ὑμῶν ἑκάστῳ
δοκεῖ ἄριστα εἶναι ἀκήκοα· προσήκει δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ
ὅσα γινώσκω ἐς μέσον ἐξενεγκόντα οὕτω σὺν ὑμῖν
20 ἑλέσθαι τὰ κρείσσω. ἐκεῖνο δὲ ὑπομνῆσαι ὑμᾶς
ἄξιον, ὡς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον οἱ μὲν στρατιῶται
δεδιέναι τε τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ κινδύνους ἄντι-
κρυς ἔλεγον καὶ ὡς ἐς φυγὴν τρέψονται, ἢν ναῦς
πολεμία ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἴοι, ἡμεῖς δὲ τὸν θεὸν ᾐτοῦμεν
γῆν τὴν Λιβύης καὶ τὴν ἐς ταύτην ἀπόβασιν
21 εἰρηναίαν ἡμῖν ἐπιδεῖξαι. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων
ὄντων, ἀξυνέτων ἀνδρῶν ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι εὔχεσθαι
μὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν τὰ βελτίονα, δεδομένων
δὲ αὐτῶν[1] ἀποσείεσθαί τε καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἐναντίας ἰέναι.
22 ἢν δὲ καὶ πλέουσιν ἡμῖν εὐθὺ Καρχηδόνος στόλος
ἀπαντήσῃ πολέμιος, τοῖς μὲν στρατιώταις κατὰ
κράτος φεύγουσι τὸ μὴ μεμπτοῖς εἶναι λελείψε-
ται· ἁμάρτημα γὰρ προρρηθὲν τὴν ἀπολογίαν
ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ φέρει· ἡμῖν δὲ καὶ διασωθεῖσιν οὐ-
23 δεμία συγγνώμη. πολλῶν δὲ ὄντων, ἢν ἐν ταῖς
ναυσὶ μένωμεν, δυσχερῶν, ἐκεῖνο μόνον ἱκανῶς,
οἶμαι, λελέξεται, ᾧ μάλιστα δεδίττεσθαι ἡμᾶς
24 ἀξιοῦσι, τὸν χειμῶνα ἐπανασείοντες. ἢν γάρ
τις ἐπιπέσοι χειμών, ἀνάγκη ταῖς ναυσίν, ὥσπερ
φασί, δυοῖν ξυμβῆναι τὸ ἕτερον, ἢ πόρρω που
τῆς Λιβύης διαφυγεῖν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκτῆς διαφθαρῆ-
25 ναι ταύτης. τί τοίνυν ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἑλο-
μένοις ἡμῖν μᾶλλον ξυνοίσει; μόνας διεφθάρθαι

[1] δὲ αὐτῶν Dindorf: τε αὐτῶν MSS.

And Belisarius spoke as follows: "Let no one of you, fellow-officers, think that my words are those of censure, nor that they are spoken in the last place to the end that it may become necessary for all to follow them, of whatever sort they may be. For I have heard what seems best to each one of you, and it is becoming that I too should lay before you what I think, and then with you should choose the better course. But it is right to remind you of this fact, that the soldiers said openly a little earlier that they feared the dangers by sea and would turn to flight if a hostile ship should attack them, and we prayed God to shew us the land of Libya and allow us a peaceful disembarkation upon it. And since this is so, I think it the part of foolish men first to pray to receive from God the more favourable fortune, then when this is given them, to reject it and go in the contrary direction. And if we do sail straight for Carthage and a hostile fleet encounters us, the soldiers will remain without blame, if they flee with all their might—for a delinquency announced beforehand carries with it its own defence—but for us, even if we come through safely, there will be no forgiveness. Now while there are many difficulties if we remain in the ships, it will be sufficient, I think, to mention only one thing,—that by which especially they wish to frighten us when they hold over our heads the danger of a storm. For if any storm should fall upon us, one of two things, they say, must necessarily befall the ships, either that they flee far from Libya or be destroyed upon this headland. What then under the present circumstances will be more to our advantage to choose?

τὰς ναῦς, ἢ αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἅπαντα ἀπολωλέναι
τὰ πράγματα; χωρὶς δὲ τούτων νῦν μὲν ἀπαρα-
σκεύοις ἐπιπεσόντες τοῖς πολεμίοις κατὰ νοῦν,
ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπαλλάξομεν· τὰ γὰρ πολέμια τῷ
26 ἀπροσδοκήτῳ δουλοῦσθαι πέφυκε· μικρὸν δὲ
ὕστερον ἤδη[1] τῶν πολεμίων ἐν παρασκευῇ γεγονό-
των ἐξ ἀντιπάλου ἡμῖν τῆς δυνάμεως ὁ ἀγὼν
27 ἔσται. προσθείη δὲ ἄν τις ὡς καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς
ἴσως ἀγωνιεῖσθαι δεήσει τῆς ἀποβάσεως, ἐκεῖνά
τε ζητεῖν ἃ νῦν παρόντα ἡμῖν ὡς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα
28 ἐς βουλὴν ἔρχεται. ἢν δὲ καὶ χειμὼν τηνικαῦτα
ἀγωνιζομένοις[2] ἡμῖν ἐπιγένηται, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
ἐν θαλάσσῃ φιλεῖ γίνεσθαι, πρός τε τὰ κύματα
καὶ τοὺς Βανδίλους διαμαχόμενοι μεταμαθεῖν τὴν
29 εὐβουλίαν εἰσόμεθα. φημὶ δὴ[3] ἔγωγε χρῆναι
ἀποβῆναι μὲν ἡμᾶς ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον αὐτίκα δὴ
μάλα, ἵππους τε ἀποβιβάζοντας καὶ ὅπλα καὶ
εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐς τὴν χρείαν ἡμῖν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι
οἰόμεθα, τάφρον δὲ κατὰ τάχος ὀρύξαι καὶ χαρά-
κωμα περιβαλεῖν οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ὅτου τις ἂν[4]
εἴποι τείχους εἰς ἀσφάλειαν ἡμῖν συντελέσαι
δυνάμενον, ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ὁρμωμένους τὸν πόλεμον,
30 ἤν τις ἐπίοι, διενεγκεῖν. ἐπιλείψει δὲ ἡμᾶς
ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς γινομένους τῶν ἐπιτηδείων οὐδέν.
τοῖς γὰρ κρατοῦσι τῶν πολεμίων τὸ κυρίοις εἶναι
τῶν ἐκείνοις προσηκόντων ξυμβαίνει, καὶ ἡ νίκη
πάντα περιβαλομένη τὰ χρήματα, ἔνθα ἂν κλίνῃ,
κατατίθεσθαι πέφυκεν. ὥστε ὑμῖν ἥ τε σωτηρία
καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν περιουσία ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κεῖται."
31 Ταῦτα Βελισαρίου εἰπόντος ξυνέφασάν τε καὶ

[1] ἤδη O : om. V. [2] ἀγωνιζομένοις O : ἀγομένοις V.
[3] δὴ V Christ : δὲ O. [4] ὅτου τις ἂν O: ἢ ὡς ἄν τις V.

to have the ships alone destroyed, or to have lost everything, men and all? But apart from this, at the present time we shall fall upon the enemy unprepared, and in all probability shall fare as we desire; for in warfare it is the unexpected which is accustomed to govern the course of events. But a little later, when the enemy have already made their preparation, the struggle we shall have will be one of strength evenly matched. And one might add that it will be necessary perhaps to fight even for the disembarkation, and to seek for that which now we have within our grasp but over which we are deliberating as a thing not necessary. And if at the very time, when we are engaged in conflict, a storm also comes upon us, as often happens on the sea, then while struggling both against the waves and against the Vandals, we shall come to regret our prudence. As for me, then, I say that we must disembark upon the land with all possible speed, landing horses and arms and whatever else we consider necessary for our use, and that we must dig a trench quickly and throw a stockade around us of a kind which can contribute to our safety no less than any walled town one might mention, and with that as our base must carry on the war from there if anyone should attack us. And if we shew ourselves brave men, we shall lack nothing in the way of provisions. For those who hold the mastery over their enemy are lords also of the enemy's possessions; and it is the way of victory, first to invest herself with all the wealth, and then to set it down again on that side to which she inclines. Therefore, for you both the chance of safety and of having an abundance of good things lies in your own hands."

When Belisarius had said this, the whole assembly

ἀπεδέξαντο ἅπας ὁ ξύλλογος, καὶ διαλυθέντες ὡς τάχιστα τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐποιήσαντο τρισὶ μάλιστα μησὶν ὕστερον ἢ αὐτοῖς ἐκ Βυζαντίου
32 ὁ ἀπόπλους ἐγένετο. καὶ δείξας τι χωρίον ἐπὶ[1] τῆς ἠιόνος ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῖς τε στρατιώταις καὶ ναύταις ἐκέλευε τήν τε τάφρον ὀρύσσειν καὶ τὸ
33 χαράκωμα περιβάλλεσθαι. οἱ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. ἅτε δὲ ὄχλου πολλοῦ ἐργαζομένου καὶ τοῦ φόβου τὴν προθυμίαν ἐγείροντος καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκελευομένου, αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἥ τε τάφρος ὀρώρυκτο καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα ξυντετέλεστο καὶ οἱ σκόλοπες κύκλῳ πανταχόθεν ξυνεπεπή-
34 χατο. ἔνθα δὴ καί τι τοῖς τὴν τάφρον ὀρύσσουσι τετύχηκε θαυμάσιον ἡλίκον. ὕδατος πολύ τι χρῆμα ἡ γῆ ἀνῆκεν, οὐ γεγονὸς τοῦτο ἐν Βυζακίῳ πρότερον, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ χωρίου ἀνύδρου
35 ὄντος. τοῦτο δὴ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐς πᾶσαν χρείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις ἐπήρκεσε. καὶ συνηδόμενος τῷ στρατηγῷ Προκόπιος ἔλεγεν ὡς οὐ διὰ τὴν χρείαν τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος περιουσίᾳ χαίροι,[2] ἀλλ' ὅτι οἱ ξύμβολον εἶναι δοκεῖ νίκης ἀπόνου καὶ τοῦτο σφίσι προλέγειν τὸ θεῖον.
36 ὅπερ οὖν καὶ ἐγένετο. τὴν μὲν οὖν νύκτα ἐκείνην οἱ στρατιῶται ξύμπαντες ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ηὐλίσαντο, φύλακάς τε καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ᾗπερ[3] εἰώθει ποιούμενοι, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι τοξότας πέντε ἐν νηὶ ἑκάστῃ Βελισάριος ἐκέλευσε μεῖναι φυλακῆς ἕνεκα, καὶ τοὺς δρόμωνας ἐν κύκλῳ αὐτῶν ὁρμίζεσθαι, φυλασσομένους μή τις ἐπ' αὐτὰς[4] κακουργήσων ἴοι.

[1] ἐπὶ V : ὑπὲρ O. [2] χαίροι P : χαίρει V, χαίρειν O.
[3] ᾗπερ VP : ἅπερ O. [4] αὐτὰς VP : αὐτοὺς O.

agreed and adopted his proposal, and separating from one another, they made the disembarkation as quickly as possible, about three months later than their departure from Byzantium. And indicating a certain spot on the shore the general bade both soldiers and sailors dig the trench and place the stockade about it. And they did as directed. And since a great throng was working and fear was stimulating their enthusiasm and the general was urging them on, not only was the trench dug on the same day, but the stockade was also completed and the pointed stakes were fixed in place all around. Then, indeed, while they were digging the trench, something happened which was altogether amazing. A great abundance of water sprang forth from the earth, a thing which had not happened before in Byzacium, and besides this the place where they were was altogether waterless. Now this water sufficed for all uses of both men and animals. And in congratulating the general, Procopius said that he rejoiced at the abundance of water, not so much because of its usefulness, as because it seemed to him a symbol of an easy victory, and that Heaven was foretelling a victory to them. This, at any rate, actually came to pass. So for that night all the soldiers bivouacked in the camp, setting guards and doing everything else as was customary, except, indeed, that Belisarius commanded five bowmen to remain in each ship for the purpose of a guard, and that the ships-of-war should anchor in a circle about them, taking care that no one should come against them to do them harm.

XVI

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινες ἐς τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἀναβαίνοντες τῶν ὡραίων ἥπτοντο, αὐτῶν τε τὰ σώματα ὁ στρατηγὸς οὐ παρέργως ᾐκίσατο καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε·
2 "Τὸ μὲν βιάζεσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις σιτίζεσθαι ταύτῃ μόνον ἔν γε τοῖς ἄλλοις καιροῖς μοχθηρὸν πεφυκέναι δοκεῖ, ὅτι τὸ ἄδικον ἐν αὑτῷ[1] φέρεται· νῦν δὲ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ τῆς δυσκολίας περίεστιν ὥστε, εἰ μὴ πικρὸν εἰπεῖν, τὸν τοῦ δικαίου λόγον περὶ ἐλάσσονος ποιησαμένους τὸν ἐντεῦθεν κίνδυνον ἡμᾶς ἡλίκος ποτέ ἐστιν ἐκλογί-
3 ζεσθαι χρή. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ τὸ θαρρεῖν ἔχων εἰς τὴν γῆν ὑμᾶς ἀπεβίβασα ταύτην, ὅτι τοῖς Βανδίλοις οἱ Λίβυες, Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντες, ἄπιστοί τέ εἰσι καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔχουσι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ᾤμην ὡς οὔτ'[2] ἄν τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείποι οὔτε[2] τι ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς κακὸν
4 ἐργάσονται ἡμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι. ἀλλὰ νῦν αὕτη ὑμῶν ἡ ἀκράτεια ταῦτα εἰς τοὐναντίον ἡμῖν μεταβέβληκε. τοὺς γὰρ Λίβυας δήπου κατηλλάξατε τοῖς Βανδίλοις, εἰς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἤδη τὴν
5 τούτων περιαγαγόντες[3] δυσμένειαν. φύσει γὰρ πρόσεστι τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις ἡ πρὸς τοὺς βιαζομένους ἔχθρα, καὶ περιέστηκεν ὑμῖν τῆς τε ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀσφαλείας καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀφθονίας

[1] *αὑτῷ* Wahler : *αὐτω* MSS.
[2] *οὔτ'—οὔτε* Haury : *οὐδ'—οὐδὲ* MSS.
[3] *περιαγαγόντες* VO : *περιάγοντες* P.

XVI

But on the following day, when some of the soldiers went out into the fields and laid hands on the fruit, the general inflicted corporal punishment of no casual sort upon them, and he called all the army together and spoke as follows: "This using of violence and the eating of that which belongs to others seems at other times a wicked thing only on this account, that injustice is in the deed itself, as the saying is; but in the present instance so great an element of detriment is added to the wrongdoing that—if it is not too harsh to say so—we must consider the question of justice of less account and calculate the magnitude of the danger that may arise from your act. For I have disembarked you upon this land basing my confidence on this alone, that the Libyans, being Romans from of old, are unfaithful and hostile to the Vandals, and for this reason I thought that no necessaries would fail us and, besides, that the enemy would not do us any injury by a sudden attack. But now this your lack of self-control has changed it all and made the opposite true. For you have doubtless reconciled the Libyans to the Vandals, bringing their hostility round upon your own selves. For by nature those who are wronged feel enmity toward those who have done them violence, and it has come round to this that you have exchanged your own safety and a bountiful supply of good

ὀλίγα ἄττα ἀργύρια ἀνταλλάξασθαι, παρὸν ὑμῖν
παρ' ἑκόντων ὠνουμένοις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τῶν κυρίων
μήτε ἀδίκοις εἶναι δοκεῖν καὶ φίλοις ἐκείνοις ἐς τὰ
6 *μάλιστα χρῆσθαι. νῦν οὖν πρός τε Βανδίλους*
ὑμῖν καὶ Λίβυας ὁ πόλεμος ἔσται, λέγω δὲ ἔγωγε
καὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτόν, ὃν οὐδεὶς ἀδικῶν ἐς ἐπι-
7 *κουρίαν παρακαλεῖ. ἀλλὰ παύσασθε μὲν τοῖς*
ἀλλοτρίοις ἐπιπηδῶντες,[1] *κέρδος δὲ ἀποσείσασθε*
8 *κινδύνων μεστόν. οὗτος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρός*
ἐστιν ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα σωφροσύνη μὲν οἷα τε σώζειν,
ἀκοσμία δὲ ἐς θάνατον φέρει. τούτων γὰρ ἐπι-
μελομένοις ὑμῖν ἵλεως μὲν ὁ θεός, εὔνους δὲ ὁ τῶν
Λιβύων λεώς, καὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων γένος εὐέφοδον
ἔσται."
9 Τοσαῦτα *εἰπὼν Βελισάριος καὶ τὸν ξύλλογον*
διαλύσας, ἐπεὶ ἤκουσε Σύλλεκτον πόλιν ἡμέρας
ὁδὸν τοῦ στρατοπέδου διέχουσαν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ
εἶναι ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα φερούσῃ, ἧς τὸ μὲν
τεῖχος ἐκ παλαιοῦ καθῃρημένον ἐτύγχανεν, οἱ δὲ
ταύτῃ ᾠκημένοι τοὺς τῶν οἰκιῶν τοίχους παντα-
χόθεν ἀποφράξαντες διὰ τὰς τῶν Μαυρουσίων
ἐπιδρομὰς περιβόλου ἐφύλασσον σχῆμα, τῶν
δορυφόρων ἕνα Βοριάδην ἅμα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν
τισιν ἔστελλεν, ἐπαγγείλας αὐτοῖς τῆς τε πόλεως
ἀποπειρᾶσθαι καί, ἢν ἕλωσι, κακὸν μὲν μηδὲν ἐν
αὐτῇ δρᾶσαι, ἐπαγγείλασθαι δὲ ἀγαθὰ μυρία, καὶ
ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῶν ἐλευθερίᾳ ἥκοιεν, ὥστε εἰσιτητὰ
10 *τῷ στρατῷ ἐς αὐτὴν γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ περὶ λύχνων*
ἀφὰς ἀγχοῦ τῆς πόλεως γενόμενοι ἐν φάραγγί τε
λαθόντες διενυκτέρευσαν. ἕωθεν δὲ ἀγροίκων σὺν
ἁμάξαις ἐς αὐτὴν εἰσιόντων ἐπιτυχόντες συν-

[1] ἐπιπηδῶντες V and Theophanes: ἐπεισπηδῶντες PO.

things for some few pieces of silver, when it was possible for you, by purchasing provisions from willing owners, not to appear unjust and at the same time to enjoy their friendship to the utmost. Now, therefore, the war will be between you and both Vandals and Libyans, and I, at least, say further that it will be against God himself, whose aid no one who does wrong can invoke. But do you cease trespassing wantonly upon the possessions of others, and reject a gain which is full of dangers. For this is that time in which above all others moderation is able to save, but lawlessness leads to death. For if you give heed to these things, you will find God propitious, the Libyan people well-disposed, and the race of the Vandals open to your attack."

With these words Belisarius dismissed the assembly. And at that time he heard that the city of Syllectus was distant one day's journey from the camp, lying close to the sea on the road leading to Carthage, and that the wall of this city had been torn down for a long time, but the inhabitants of the place had made a barrier on all sides by means of the walls of their houses, on account of the attacks of the Moors, and guarded a kind of fortified enclosure; he, accordingly, sent one of his spearmen, Boriades, together with some of the guards, commanding them to make an attempt on the city, and, if they captured it, to do no harm in it, but to promise a thousand good things and to say that they had come for the sake of the people's freedom, that so the army might be able to enter into it. And they came near the city about dusk and passed the night hidden in a ravine. But at early dawn, meeting country folk going into the city

εισῆλθόν τε[1] σιωπῇ καὶ οὐδενὶ[2] πόνῳ τὴν πόλιν
11 ἔσχον. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἡμέρα ἐγένετο, οὐδενὸς θορύβου ἡγησαμένου, τόν τε ἱερέα καὶ εἴ τι δόκιμον ἦν ξυγκαλέσαντες τάς τε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐντολὰς ἀπήγγελλον, καὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν εἰσόδων παρ' ἑκόντων λαβόντες τῷ στρατηγῷ ἔπεμψαν.

12 Τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁ τοῦ δημοσίου δρόμου ἐπιμελούμενος ηὐτομόλησε παραδοὺς τοὺς δημοσίους ξύμπαντας ἵππους. ξυλληφθέντα δὲ καί τινα τῶν ἐς τὰς βασιλικὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἀεὶ στελλομένων, οὓς δὴ βεριδαρίους καλοῦσι, κακὸν μὲν οὐδὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἔδρασε, χρυσῷ δὲ πολλῷ δωρησάμενος καὶ πιστὰ λαβὼν τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἐνεχείρισεν ἅσπερ Ἰουστινιανὸς βασιλεὺς πρὸς Βανδίλους ἔγραψεν, ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς Βανδίλων ἄρχουσι
13 δοῦναι. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε· "Οὔτε Βανδίλοις πολεμεῖν ἔγνωμεν οὔτε τὰς[3] Γιζερίχου σπονδὰς λύομεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑμέτερον τύραννον καθελεῖν ἐγχειροῦμεν, ὃς τῶν Γιζερίχου διαθηκῶν ὀλιγωρήσας τὸν μὲν βασιλέα ὑμῶν καθείρξας τηρεῖ, τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν οὓς μὲν σφόδρα ἐμίσει κατ' ἀρχὰς ἔκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τὰς ὄψεις ἀφελόμενος ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει,[4] οὐκ ἐῶν θανάτῳ
14 καταλῦσαι τὰς συμφοράς. συλλάβεσθε τοίνυν ἡμῖν καὶ συνελευθεροῦτε ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς οὕτω μοχθηρᾶς τυραννίδος, ὅπως ἂν δύνησθε τῆς τε εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπόνασθαι. ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῖν παρ' ἡμῶν ἔσεσθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ

[1] συνεισῆλθόν τε Haury: συνεισελθόντες VP, ξυνεισελθόντες O.
[2] καὶ οὐδενὶ P: ἐν οὐδενὶ V, καὶ om. O.
[3] οὔτε τὰς Haury: οὔτε δὲ τὰς V, οὐδὲ τὰς PO.
[4] ἔχει VP: ἔσχεν O.

with waggons, they entered quietly with them and with no trouble took possession of the city. And when day came, no one having begun any disturbance, they called together the priest and all the other notables and announced the commands of the general, and receiving the keys of the entrances from willing hands, they sent them to the general.

On the same day the overseer of the public post deserted, handing over all the government horses. And they captured also one of those who are occasionally sent to bear the royal responses, whom they call "veredarii"[1]; and the general did him no harm but presented him with much gold and, receiving pledges from him, put into his hand the letter which the Emperor Justinian had written to the Vandals, that he might give it to the magistrates of the Vandals. And the writing was as follows: "Neither have we decided to make war upon the Vandals, nor are we breaking the treaty of Gizeric, but we are attempting to dethrone your tyrant, who, making light of the testament of Gizeric, has imprisoned your king and is keeping him in custody, and those of his relatives whom he hated exceedingly he put to death at the first, and the rest, after robbing them of their sight, he keeps under guard, not allowing them to terminate their misfortunes by death. Do you, therefore, join forces with us and help us in freeing yourselves from so wicked a tyranny, in order that you may be able to enjoy both peace and freedom. For we give you pledges in the name of God that these things will

[1] *i.e.* couriers, from *veredus*, "post-horse."

15 πιστὰ δίδομεν." τοσαῦτα μὲν τὰ βασιλέως
γράμματα ἐδήλου. ὁ δὲ ταῦτα παρὰ Βελισαρίου
λαβὼν ἐξενεγκεῖν μὲν εἰς τὸ φανερὸν οὐκ ἐτόλ-
μησε, λάθρα δὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιδείξας οὐδὲν ὅ τι
καὶ λόγου ἄξιον διεπράξατο.[1]

XVII

Βελισάριος δὲ ὡς ἐς παράταξιν ὧδε διακοσμή-
σας τὸ στράτευμα τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐβάδιζε.
τῶν δ'[2] ὑπασπιστῶν τριακοσίους ἀπολέξας, ἄνδρας
ἀγαθοὺς τὰ πολέμια, Ἰωάννῃ παρέδωκεν, ὅς οἱ
ἐπεμελεῖτο τῆς περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν δαπάνης· ὀπτίωνα
2 τοῦτον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἀνὴρ δὲ[3] ἦν Ἀρμένιος
μὲν γένος, ξυνέσεως δὲ καὶ ἀνδρίας ἐς τὸ ἀκρότατον
μάλα[4] ἥκων. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐκέλευσε
τῇ στρατιᾷ ἡγεῖσθαι, οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ κατὰ εἴκοσι
σταδίους διέχοντα, καὶ ἤν τι πολέμιον ἴδοι, κατὰ
τάχος σημῆναι, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ἀπαράσκευοι ἐς μάχην
3 καθίστασθαι ἀναγκάζοιντο. τοὺς δὲ ξυμμάχους
Μασσαγέτας ἐκέλευε τοσούτοις ἢ καὶ πλείοσι
σταδίοις ἀπέχοντας ἀεὶ κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν μέρος
τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι· αὐτὸς δὲ ὄπισθεν μετὰ
4 τῶν ἀρίστων ἐβάδιζεν. ὑπώπτευε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς
Ἑρμιόνης Γελίμερα σφίσιν ἑπόμενον οὐκ ἐς
μακρὰν ἐπιθήσεσθαι. κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος
οὐδὲν ἦν δέος οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἠιόνος πορευομένοις.
5 τοῖς δὲ ναύταις ἐπήγγελλε παρακολουθεῖν τε ἀεὶ
καὶ τοῦ στρατεύματος μὴ πολὺ διεστάναι, ἀλλ'

[1] διεπράξατο VP: ἐπράξατο O.
[2] δ' VP: δὲ O, Christ would delete. [3] δὲ PO: μὲν V.
[4] ἀκρότατον μάλα P: ἀκρότατον V, ἀκρότατον μάλιστα O.

come to you by our hand." Such was the message of the emperor's letter. But the man who received this from Belisarius did not dare to publish it openly, and though he shewed it secretly to his friends, he accomplished nothing whatever of consequence.

XVII

And Belisarius, having arrayed his army as for battle in the following manner, began the march to Carthage. He chose out three hundred of his guards, men who were able warriors, and handed them over to John, who was in charge of the expenditures of the general's household; such a person the Romans call "optio."[1] And he was an Armenian by birth, a man gifted with discretion and courage in the highest degree. This John, then, he commanded to go ahead of the army, at a distance of not less than twenty stades, and if he should see anything of the enemy, to report it with all speed, so that they might not be compelled to enter into battle unprepared. And the allied Massagetae he commanded to travel constantly on the left of the army, keeping as many stades away or more; and he himself marched in the rear with the best troops. For he suspected that it would not be long before Gelimer, following them from Hermione, would make an attack upon them. And these precautions were sufficient, for on the right side there was no fear, since they were travelling not far from the coast. And he commanded the sailors to follow along with them always and not to separate themselves far from

[1] An adjutant, the general's own "choice."

ἐπιφόρου μὲν γινομένου τοῦ πνεύματος χαλάσαντας τὰ μεγάλα ἱστία τοῖς μικροῖς, ἃ δὴ δόλωνας καλοῦσιν, ἕπεσθαι, λωφήσαντος δὲ παντελῶς τοῦ ἀνέμου βιάζεσθαι ὅσον οἷοί τε ὦσιν ἐρέσσοντας.

6 Εἰς δὲ Σύλλεκτον ἀφικόμενος Βελισάριος σώφρονάς τε τοὺς στρατιώτας παρείχετο καὶ οὔτε[1] ἀδίκων χειρῶν ἄρχοντας οὔτε[1] τι ἀπὸ τρόπου ἐργαζομένους, αὐτός τε πρᾳότητα καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν πολλὴν ἐνδεικνύμενος οὕτω τοὺς Λίβυας προσεποιήσατο ὥστε τοῦ λοιποῦ καθάπερ ἐν χώρᾳ οἰκείᾳ τὴν πορείαν ποιεῖσθαι, οὔτε ὑποχωρούντων τῶν ταύτῃ ᾠκημένων οὔτε τι ἀποκρύπτεσθαι βουλομένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀγορὰν παρεχομένων καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τοῖς στρατιώταις ᾗ βούλοιντο
7 ὑπηρετούντων. ὀγδοήκοντα δὲ σταδίους ἀνύοντες εἰς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἄχρι ἐς Καρχηδόνα διετελέσαμεν, ἢ κατὰ πόλιν, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ,[2] ἢ ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα αὐλι-
8 ζόμενοι. οὕτω γοῦν διά τε Λέπτης πόλεως καὶ Ἀδραμητοῦ ἐς Γράσσην τὸ χωρίον ἀφικόμεθα, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους σταδίους Καρχηδόνος
9 διέχον. ἔνθα δὴ βασίλειά τε ἦν τοῦ Βανδίλων ἡγουμένου καὶ παράδεισος κάλλιστος ἁπάντων ὧν
10 ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. ταῖς τε γὰρ κρήναις κομιδῇ κατάρρυτός ἐστι καὶ ἄλσους ἔχει πάμπολυ χρῆμα. ὀπώρας δὲ τὰ δένδρα μεστά ἐστι[3] ξύμπαντα· ὥστε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἕκαστος τὴν καλύβην ἐν δένδροις ὀπώρας ἐπήξατο καὶ τῶν καρπῶν τηνικάδε ὡραίων ὄντων ἐς κόρον μὲν αὐτῶν ἀφίκοντο

[1] οὔτε—οὔτε Haury: οὐδὲ—οὐδὲ MSS.
[2] τύχῃ V: τύχοι PO. [3] ἐστι V: εἰσι PO.

the army, but when the wind was favouring to lower the great sails, and follow with the small sails, which they call "dolones,"[1] and when the wind dropped altogether to keep the ships under way as well as they could by rowing.

And when Belisarius reached Syllectus, the soldiers behaved with moderation, and they neither began any unjust brawls nor did anything out of the way, and he himself, by displaying great gentleness and kindness, won the Libyans to his side so completely that thereafter he made the journey as if in his own land; for neither did the inhabitants of the land withdraw nor did they wish to conceal anything, but they both furnished a market and served the soldiers in whatever else they wished. And accomplishing eighty stades each day, we completed the whole journey to Carthage, passing the night either in a city, should it so happen, or in a camp made as thoroughly secure as the circumstances permitted. Thus we passed through the city of Leptis and Hadrumetum and reached the place called Grasse, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. In that place was a palace of the ruler of the Vandals and a park the most beautiful of all we know. For it is excellently watered by springs and has a great wealth of woods. And all the trees are full of fruit; so that each one of the soldiers pitched his tent among fruit-trees, and though all of them ate their fill of

[1] Topsails.

πάντες, αἴσθησις δὲ σχεδόν τι τῆς ὀπώρας ἐλασ-
σουμένης οὐ γέγονε.
11 Γελίμερ δέ, ἐπεὶ ἐν Ἑρμιόνῃ τὸ πρῶτον παρόν-
τας ἤκουσε τοὺς πολεμίους, γράφει πρὸς τὸν
ἀδελφὸν Ἀμμάταν ἐς Καρχηδόνα, Ἰλδέριχον μὲν
καὶ ἄλλους, ὅσους εἴτε κατὰ γένος εἴτε ἄλλως
αὐτῷ προσήκοντας ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχει, ἀποκτιννύναι,
αὐτὸν δὲ τούς τε Βανδίλους καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο μάχι-
μον ἐν τῇ πόλει ἦν ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιήσασθαι,
ὅπως τῶν πολεμίων ἐν στενοῖς γενομένων ἀμφὶ
τὸ τῆς πόλεως προάστειον, ὃ Δέκιμον καλοῦσιν,
ἀμφοτέρωθεν ξυνιόντας κυκλώσασθαί τε αὐτοὺς
12 καὶ σαγηνεύσαντας διαφθεῖραι. Ἀμμάτας δὲ
κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει, καὶ τόν τε Ἰλδέριχον, ξυγ-
γενῆ ὄντα, καὶ Εὐαγέην ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τῶν
13 Λιβύων ὅσοι αὐτοῖς ἐπιτήδειοι ἦσαν. Ὀάμερ
γὰρ ἤδη ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνιστο. τούς τε
Βανδίλους ἐξοπλίσας, ὡς εἰς καιρὸν ἐπιθησό-
14 μενος, ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιήσατο. Γελίμερ δὲ
ὄπισθεν, οὐ παρέχων ἡμῖν αἴσθησιν, εἵπετο,
πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ ᾗ ἐν Γράσσῃ
ηὐλισάμεθα, κατάσκοποι ἑκατέρωθεν ἰόντες ξυνέ-
μιξαν, πλήξαντές τε ἀλλήλους ἐς τὸ σφέτερον
στρατόπεδον ἑκάτεροι ἀπεχώρησαν, καὶ ταύτῃ
γέγονεν ἡμῖν φανερὸν οὐ πόρρω εἶναι τοὺς
15 πολεμίους. ἐνθένδε ἡμῖν πορευομένοις τὰς ναῦς
ἐσορᾶν ἀδύνατα ἦν. πέτραι γὰρ ὑψηλαί, πόρρω
τῆς θαλάσσης διήκουσαι, περίοδον τοῖς πλέουσι
πολλῷ μέτρῳ ἐργάζονται, καὶ ἄκρα ἀνέχει, ἧς
16 ἐντὸς τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ πόλισμά ἐστι. Βελισάριος οὖν
Ἀρχελάῳ τε τῷ ἐπάρχῳ[1] καὶ Καλωνύμῳ τῷ

[1] ἐπάρχῳ V : ὑπάρχῳ PO.

the fruit, which was then ripe, there was practically no diminution to be seen in the fruit.

But Gelimer, as soon as he heard in Hermione that the enemy were at hand, wrote to his brother Ammatas in Carthage to kill Ilderic and all the others, connected with him either by birth or otherwise, whom he was keeping under guard, and commanded him to make ready the Vandals and all others in the city serviceable for war, in order that, when the enemy got inside the narrow passage at the suburb of the city which they call Decimum,[1] they might come together from both sides and surround them and, catching them as in a net, destroy them. And Ammatas carried this out, and killed Ilderic, who was a relative of his, and Euagees, and all the Libyans who were intimate with them. For Hoamer had already departed from the world.[2] And arming the Vandals, he made them ready, intending to make his attack at the opportune moment. But Gelimer was following behind, without letting it be known to us, except, indeed, that, on that night when we bivouacked in Grasse, scouts coming from both armies met each other, and after an exchange of blows they each retired to their own camp, and in this way it became evident to us that the enemy were not far away. As we proceeded from there it was impossible to discern the ships. For high rocks extending well into the sea cause mariners to make a great circuit, and there is a projecting headland,[3] inside of which lies the town of Hermes. Belisarius therefore commanded Archelaus, the prefect, and Calonymus, the

[1] *i.e. Decimum miliarium*, tenth milestone from Carthage.
[2] Before 533 A.D.
[3] Hermaeum, Lat. Mercurii promontorium (Cape Bon).

ναυάρχῳ[1] ἐπέστελλεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα μὲν μὴ καταίρειν, σταδίους δὲ ἀμφὶ τοὺς διακοσίους ἀπέχοντας ἄχρι[2] αὐτὸς καλέσῃ μένειν.
17 ἐκ δὲ Γράσσης ἐξαναστάντες τεταρταῖοι ἐς Δέκιμον ἀφικόμεθα, σταδίοις ἑβδομήκοντα Καρχηδόνος ἀπέχον.

XVIII

Ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ Γελίμερ τὸν ἀνεψιὸν Γιβαμοῦνδον ἐκέλευεν ἅμα Βανδίλων δισχιλίοις φθάνοντα τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα κατὰ τὸ εὐώνυμον μέρος ἰέναι, ὅπως Ἀμμάτας μὲν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος, Γελίμερ δὲ αὐτὸς ὄπισθεν, Γιβαμοῦνδος δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ χωρίων ἐς ταὐτὸ ξυνιόντες ῥᾷον δὴ καὶ ἀπονώτερον τὴν κύκλωσιν τῶν
2 πολεμίων ποιήσονται.[3] ἐμοὶ δὲ τά τε θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἐπῆλθε θαυμάσαι, ὅπως ὁ μὲν θεός, πόρρωθεν ὁρῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα, ὑπογράφει ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα δοκεῖ ἀποβήσεσθαι, οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι ἢ σφαλλόμενοι ἢ τὰ δέοντα βουλευόμενοι οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅτι ἔπταισάν τι, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ ὀρθῶς ἔδρασαν, ἵνα γένηται τῇ τύχῃ τρίβος, φέρουσα
3 πάντως ἐπὶ τὰ πρότερον δεδογμένα. εἰ μὴ γὰρ Βελισάριος οὕτω διῳκήσατο τὴν παράταξιν, τοὺς μὲν ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην προτερῆσαι κελεύσας, τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἰέναι, οὐκ ἄν ποτε διαφυγεῖν τοὺς Βανδίλους
4 ἰσχύσαμεν. καὶ τούτων δὲ οὕτω Βελισαρίῳ

[1] καὶ Καλωνύμῳ τῷ ναυάρχῳ supplied by Haury from Theophanes. [2] ἄχρι VO: ἄχρις οὗ P.
[3] ποιήσονται V: ποιήσωνται PO.

admiral, not to put in at Carthage, but to remain about two hundred stades away until he himself should summon them. And departing from Grasse we came on the fourth day to Decimum, seventy stades distant from Carthage.

XVIII

And on that day Gelimer commanded his nephew Gibamundus with two thousand of the Vandals to go ahead of the rest of the army on the left side, in order that Ammatas coming from Carthage, Gelimer himself from the rear, and Gibamundus from the country to the left, might unite and accomplish the task of encircling the enemy with less difficulty and exertion. But as for me, during this struggle I was moved to wonder at the ways of Heaven and of men, noting how God, who sees from afar what will come to pass, traces out the manner in which it seems best to him that things should come to pass, while men, whether they are deceived or counsel aright, know not that they have failed, should that be the issue, or that they have succeeded, God's purpose being that a path shall be made for Fortune, who presses on inevitably toward that which has been foreordained. For if Belisarius had not thus arranged his forces, commanding the men under John to take the lead, and the Massagetae to march on the left of the army, we should never have been able to escape the Vandals. And even with this planned so by Belisarius,

βεβουλευμένων, εἰ τὸν καιρὸν Ἀμμάτας διεφύ-
λαξε καὶ μὴ τοῦτον τεταρτημορίῳ τῆς ἡμέρας
μάλιστα ἔφθασεν, οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὕτω Βανδίλοις
5 διεφθάρη τὰ πράγματα· νῦν δὲ Ἀμμάτας προ-
τερήσας ἀμφὶ μέσην ἡμέραν ἐς Δέκιμον ἧκε, μακ-
ρὰν ἀπολελειμμένων ἡμῶν τε καὶ τοῦ Βανδίλων
στρατεύματος, οὐ τοῦτο μόνον ἁμαρτήσας, ὅτι οὐκ
ἐν δέοντι ἀφίκετο χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ Βανδίλων
πλῆθος ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀπολιπών, ἀπαγγείλας[1]
τε ὡς τάχιστα ἐς τὸ Δέκιμον ἥκειν, αὐτὸς ξὺν
ὀλίγοις καὶ οὐδὲ ἀριστίνδην ξυνειλεγμένοις τοῖς
6 ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε. καὶ κτείνει
μὲν τῶν ἀρίστων δώδεκα ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἀγω-
νιζομένους, πίπτει δὲ καὶ αὐτός, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς
7 ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ γενόμενος. καὶ ἡ μὲν τροπή,
ἐπεὶ Ἀμμάτας ἔπεσε, λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει, φεύγον-
τες δὲ κατὰ κράτος οἱ Βανδίλοι ἀνεσόβουν ἅπαν-
8 τας τοὺς ἐκ Καρχηδόνος[2] ἐς Δέκιμον ἰόντας. ἐπο-
ρεύοντο γὰρ οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ οὐδὲ ὡς ἐς μάχην
ξυντεταγμένοι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ συμμορίας, καὶ ταύτας
βραχείας· κατὰ τριάκοντα γὰρ ἢ εἴκοσιν ᾔεσαν.
9 ὁρῶντες δὲ Βανδίλους τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀμμάταν
φεύγοντας, καὶ οἰόμενοι τοὺς διώκοντας παμπλη-
10 θεῖς εἶναι, τρέψαντες τὰ νῶτα συνέφευγον. Ἰωάν-
νης δὲ καὶ οἱ ξὺν αὐτῷ οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν κτείνοντες
11 ἄχρι ἐς τὰς Καρχηδόνος πύλας ἀφίκοντο. καὶ
γέγονε φόνος Βανδίλων ἐν τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα στα-
δίοις τοσοῦτος ὥστε εἰκάζειν τοὺς θεωμένους[3]
δισμυρίων πολεμίων τὸ ἔργον εἶναι.

[1] ἀπαγγείλας VP : ἐπαγγείλας O.
[2] ἐκ καρχηδόνος PO : ἐν καρχηδόνι V.
[3] θεωμένους PO : τεθεωμένους V.

if Ammatas had observed the opportune time, and had not anticipated this by about the fourth part of a day, never would the cause of the Vandals have fallen as it did; but as it was, Ammatas came to Decimum about midday, in advance of the time, while both we and the Vandal army were far away, erring not only in that he did not arrive at the fitting time, but also in leaving at Carthage the host of the Vandals, commanding them to come to Decimum as quickly as possible, while he with a few men and not even the pick of the army came into conflict with John's men. And he killed twelve of the best men who were fighting in the front rank, and he himself fell, having shewn himself a brave man in this engagement. And the rout, after Ammatas fell, became complete, and the Vandals, fleeing at top speed, swept back all those who were coming from Carthage to Decimum. For they were advancing in no order and not drawn up as for battle, but in companies, and small ones at that; for they were coming in bands of twenty or thirty. And seeing the Vandals under Ammatas fleeing, and thinking their pursuers were a great multitude, they turned and joined in the flight. And John and his men, killing all whom they came upon, advanced as far as the gates of Carthage. And there was so great a slaughter of Vandals in the course of the seventy stades that those who beheld it would have supposed that it was the work of an enemy twenty thousand strong.

12 Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον[1] Γιβαμοῦνδός τε
καὶ οἱ δισχίλιοι ἧκον ἐς Πεδίον Ἁλῶν, ὅπερ
τεσσαράκοντα μὲν σταδίοις τοῦ Δεκίμου ἀπέχει
ἐν ἀριστερᾷ εἰς Καρχηδόνα ἰόντι, ἀνθρώπων δὲ
καὶ δένδρων καὶ ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἔρημόν ἐστι, τῆς
τοῦ ὕδατος ἅλμης ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐνταῦθα πλὴν τοὺς
ἅλας ἐώσης γίγνεσθαι· ἔνθα δὴ τοῖς Οὔννοις
13 περιπεπτωκότες ἀπώλοντο πάντες. ἦν δέ τις
ἐν τοῖς Μασσαγέταις ἀνήρ, ἀνδρίας μὲν καὶ
ἰσχύος εὖ ἥκων, ὀλίγων δὲ ἡγούμενος ἀνδρῶν·
οὗτος εἶχε γέρας ἐκ πατέρων τε καὶ προγόνων
ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς Οὐννικοῖς στρατεύμασι πρῶτος εἰς
14 τοὺς πολεμίους εἰσβάλλειν. οὐ γὰρ ἦν θεμιτὸν
ἀνδρὶ Μασσαγέτῃ προτύψαντι ἐν μάχῃ τῶν τινα
πολεμίων λαβεῖν,[2] πρίν γε δή τινα ἐκ ταύτης
τῆς οἰκίας ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους τῶν χειρῶν ἄρξαι.
15 οὗτος ἀνήρ, ἐπεὶ τὰ στρατεύματα οὐ πόρρω ἀπ'
ἀλλήλων ἐγένετο, ἐξελάσας τὸν ἵππον, τοῦ τῶν
Βανδίλων στρατοπέδου μόνος ὡς ἐγγυτάτω ἔστη.
16 οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι, ἢ τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εὐψυχίαν κατα-
πλαγέντες ἢ καί τι τοὺς πολεμίους ὑποτοπή-
σαντες ἐς αὐτοὺς μηχανᾶσθαι, οὔτε[3] κινεῖσθαι
17 οὔτε[3] τὸν ἄνδρα βαλεῖν ἔγνωσαν. οἶμαι δὲ
αὐτοὺς οὐπώποτε Μασσαγετῶν μάχην ἐν πείρᾳ
ἔχοντας, ἀκούοντας δὲ κομιδῇ μάχιμον τὸ ἔθνος
18 εἶναι, οὕτω δὴ κατορρωδῆσαι τὸν κίνδυνον. ἀνα-
στρέψας δὲ ἐς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔλεξεν
ὡς ὁ θεὸς σφίσιν ἕτοιμον βρῶσιν τοὺς ξένους
19 τούσδε πέμψειεν. οὕτω δὴ ὁρμωμένους αὐτοὺς

[1] *χρόνον* V : *τρόπον* P in context, *γρ. χρόνον* P in marg., om. O.
[2] *λαβεῖν* VO : *βαλεῖν* P with *λαβεῖν* written above it.
[3] *οὔτε—οὔτε* Haury : *οὐδὲ—οὐδὲ* MSS.

At the same time Gibamundus and his two thousand came to Pedion Halon, which is forty stades distant from Decimum on the left as one goes to Carthage, and is destitute of human habitation or trees or anything else, since the salt in the water permits nothing except salt to be produced there; in that place they encountered the Huns and were all destroyed. Now there was a certain man among the Massagetae, well gifted with courage and strength of body, the leader of a few men; this man had the privilege handed down from his fathers and ancestors to be the first in all the Hunnic armies to attack the enemy. For it was not lawful for a man of the Massagetae to strike first in battle and capture one of the enemy until, indeed, someone from this house began the struggle with the enemy. So when the two armies had come not far from each other, this man rode out and stopped alone close to the army of the Vandals. And the Vandals, either because they were dumbfounded at the courageous spirit of the man or perhaps because they suspected that the enemy were contriving something against them, decided neither to move nor to shoot at the man. And I think that, since they had never had experience of battle with the Massagetae, but heard that the nation was very warlike, they were for this reason terrified at the danger. And the man, returning to his compatriots, said that God had sent them these strangers as a ready feast. Then at length they made

οἱ Βανδίλοι οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ λύσαντες τὴν τάξιν καὶ ἥκιστα ἐς ἀλκὴν ἰδόντες ἅπαντες αἰσχρῶς διεφθάρησαν.

XIX

Ἡμεῖς δὲ τῶν γεγονότων οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν πεπυσμένοι ἐπὶ τὸ Δέκιμον ᾔειμεν. Βελισάριος δὲ χῶρον ἰδὼν ἐς στρατόπεδον ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα, πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα σταδίοις τοῦ Δεκίμου διέχοντα, χαράκωμά τε αὐτῷ περιέβαλεν εὖ μάλα πεποιημένον καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἅπαντας ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος ἅπαν τε ξυγκαλέσας τὸ στρά-
2 τευμα ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Ὁ μὲν τῆς ἀγωνίας καιρός, ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, ἤδη πάρεστιν· αἰσθάνομαι γὰρ προσιόντας ἡμῖν τοὺς πολεμίους· τὰς δὲ ναῦς ὡς πορρωτάτω ἡμῶν ἡ τοῦ τόπου φύσις ἀπήνεγκε· περιέστηκε δὲ ἡμῖν ἡ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλπὶς
3 ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν οὖσα. οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὐ πόλις φιλία, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ὀχύρωμα, ὅτῳ δὴ καὶ πιστεύσαντες τὸ θαρρεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἕξο-
4 μεν. ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενοίμεθα,[1] εἰκὸς ἂν εἴη καὶ περιέσεσθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν ἐναντίων· ἢν δέ τι μαλακιζοίμεθα, λελείψεται ἡμῖν ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις γεγενημένοις αἰσχρῶς διεφ-
5 θάρθαι. καίτοι πολλὰ ἡμῖν ἐφόδια πρὸς τὴν νίκην ἐστί· τό τε δίκαιον, μεθ' οὗ πρὸς τοὺς δυσμενεῖς ἥκομεν (τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα αὐτῶν κομιούμενοι πάρεσμεν), καὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων ἐς τὸν σφῶν
6 αὐτῶν τύραννον ἔχθος. ἥ τε γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ξυμμαχία τοῖς τὰ δίκαια προτεινομένοις προσγίνε-

[1] γενοίμεθα O : γενώμεθα VP.

their onset and the Vandals did not withstand them, but breaking their ranks and never thinking of resistance, they were all disgracefully destroyed.

XIX

But we, having learned nothing at all of what had happened, were going on to Decimum. And Belisarius, seeing a place well adapted for a camp, thirty-five stades distant from Decimum, surrounded it with a stockade which was very well made, and placing all the infantry there and calling together the whole army, he spoke as follows: "Fellow-soldiers, the decisive moment of the struggle is already at hand; for I perceive that the enemy are advancing upon us; and the ships have been taken far away from us by the nature of the place; and it has come round to this that our hope of safety lies in the strength of our hands. For there is not a friendly city, no, nor any other stronghold, in which we may put our trust and have confidence concerning ourselves. But if we should show ourselves brave men, it is probable that we shall still overcome the enemy in the war; but if we should weaken at all, it will remain for us to fall under the hand of the Vandals and to be destroyed disgracefully. And yet there are many advantages on our side to help us on toward victory; for we have with us both justice, with which we have come against our enemy (for we are here in order to recover what is our own), and the hatred of the Vandals toward their own tyrant. For the alliance of God follows naturally those who put justice

σθαι πέφυκε, καὶ στρατιώτης τῷ κρατοῦντι δύσνους
7 ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι οὐκ ἐπίσταται. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων
ἡμεῖς μὲν Πέρσαις τε καὶ Σκύθαις τὸν ἅπαντα
ὡμιλήσαμεν χρόνον, οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι, ἐξ ὅτου
Λιβύης ἐκράτησαν, οὐδένα πολέμιον ὅτι μὴ γυμ-
8 νοὺς Μαυρουσίους τεθέανται. τίς δὲ οὐκ οἶδεν ὡς
ἔργου παντὸς μελέτη μὲν ἐς ἐμπειρίαν, ἀργία δὲ
εἰς ἀμαθίαν φέρει; τὸ μὲν οὖν χαράκωμα, ὅθεν
ἡμᾶς τὸν πόλεμον διαφέρειν δεήσει, ὡς ἄριστα
9 ἡμῖν πεποιῆσθαι ξυμβαίνει. πάρεστι δὲ ἡμῖν τά
τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα φέρειν οὐχ οἷοί
τε ἐσμὲν ἐνταῦθα καταθεμένοις ἰέναι, καὶ ἀνα-
στρέψαντας ἂν ἐνθάδε ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων
10 ἐπιλίποι. εὔχομαι δὲ ὑμῶν ἕκαστον τῆς τε οἰκείας
ἀρετῆς καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἀναμνησθέντα
οὕτω δὴ καταφρονήματι[1] ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους
χωρεῖν."
11 Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Βελισάριος καὶ ἐπευξάμενος
τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὸ χαράκωμα τοῖς πεζοῖς
ἀπολιπὼν αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν ἱππέων ἁπάντων ἐξή-
12 λασεν. οὐ γάρ οἱ ἐφαίνετο ἐν τῷ παρόντι ξύμ-
φορον εἶναι τῷ παντὶ διακινδυνεῦσαι στρατῷ,
ἀλλὰ ξὺν τοῖς ἱππεῦσι πρῶτον ἀκροβολισαμένῳ
καὶ ἀποπειρασαμένῳ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δυνάμεως
οὕτω δὴ τῷ ὅλῳ στρατεύματι διαμάχεσθαι.
13 στείλας οὖν ἔμπροσθεν τοὺς τῶν φοιδεράτων
ἄρχοντας, σὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις
δορυφόροις τε καὶ ὑπασπισταῖς αὐτὸς εἵπετο.
14 ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φοιδερᾶτοι ξὺν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν ἐγένοντο
ἐν τῷ Δεκίμῳ, ὁρῶσι τοὺς τῶν πεπτωκότων

[1] καταφρονήματι P: μετὰ φρονήματος V, καὶ τῷ φρονήματι O.

forward, and a soldier who is ill-disposed toward his ruler knows not how to play the part of a brave man. And apart from this, we have been engaged with Persians and Scythians all the time, but the Vandals, since the time they conquered Libya, have seen not a single enemy except naked Moors. And who does not know that in every work practice leads to skill, while idleness leads to inefficiency? Now the stockade, from which we shall have to carry on the war, has been made by us in the best possible manner. And we are able to deposit here our weapons and everything else which we are not able to carry when we go forth; and when we return here again, no kind of provisions can fail us. And I pray that each one of you, calling to mind his own valour and those whom he has left at home, may so march with contempt against the enemy."

After speaking these words and uttering a prayer after them, Belisarius left his wife and the barricaded camp to the infantry, and himself set forth with all the horsemen. For it did not seem to him advantageous for the present to risk an engagement with the whole army, but it seemed wise to skirmish first with the horsemen and make trial of the enemy's strength, and finally to fight a decisive battle with the whole army. Sending forward, therefore, the commanders of the foederati,[1] he himself followed with the rest of the force and his own spearmen and guards. And when the foederati and their leaders reached Decimum, they saw the corpses of the

[1] "Auxiliaries"; see chap. xi. 3, 4.

νεκρούς, δώδεκα μὲν ἑταίρους τῶν μετὰ Ἰωάννου,
πλησίον δὲ αὐτῶν Ἀμμάταν καὶ Βανδίλων τινάς.
15 παρὰ δὲ τῶν ταύτῃ ᾠκημένων τὸν πάντα λόγον
ἀκούσαντες ἤσχαλλον, ἀπορούμενοι ὅπῃ αὐτοῖς
χωρητέα εἴη. ἔτι δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπορουμένων καὶ ἀπὸ
τῶν λόφων ἅπαντα περισκοπουμένων τὰ ἐκείνῃ
χωρία, κονιορτός τε ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἐφαίνετο
καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον Βανδίλων ἱππέων πάμπολυ
16 χρῆμα. καὶ πέμπουσι μὲν πρὸς[1] Βελισάριον, ὡς
τάχιστα ἥκειν αἰτοῦντες, ἅτε δὴ σφίσιν ἐγκει-
μένων τῶν πολεμίων. τῶν δὲ ἀρχόντων αἱ
17 γνῶμαι δίχα ἐφέροντο. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἠξίουν τοῖς
ἐπιοῦσιν ὁμόσε ἰέναι, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεων σφίσιν
18 ἐς τοῦτο ἔφασκον εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν. ταῦτα δὲ
αὐτοῖς ἐς ἀλλήλους διαφιλονεικοῦσιν[2] οἱ βάρβαροι
ἀγχοῦ ἐγένοντο ἡγουμένου αὐτοῖς Γελίμερος καὶ
ὁδῷ χρησαμένου μεταξὺ ἧς τε Βελισάριος εἶχε
καὶ ἧς οἱ Μασσαγέται ἧκον οἱ Γιβαμούνδῳ ξυμ-
19 μίξαντες. λοφώδεις δὲ χῶροι ἐφ᾽ ἑκάτερα[3] ὄντες
οὔτε[4] τὸ Γιβαμούνδου πάθος[5] ἰδεῖν οὔτε[4] τὸ
Βελισαρίου χαράκωμα ξυνεχώρησαν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
20 τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν οἱ ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἐπορεύοντο. ἐπεὶ
δὲ ἀγχοῦ ἀλλήλων γεγόνασιν, ἔρις τῇ στρατιᾷ
ἑκατέρᾳ ἐνέπεσεν, ὁπότεροι τοῦ πάντων ὑψηλο-
21 τάτου τῶν ἐκείνῃ λόφων κρατήσουσιν. ἐδόκει
γὰρ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι ἐπιτήδειος εἶναι, καὶ
αὐτοὶ ἑκάτεροι ἐνθένδε ᾑροῦντο τοῖς πολεμίοις
22 εἰς χεῖρας ἰέναι. προτερήσαντες δὲ οἱ Βανδίλοι

[1] πρὸς VO : ὡς P. [2] διαφιλονεικοῦσιν VO : φιλονεικοῦσιν P.
[3] ἑκάτερα VO : ἑκατέροις P.
[4] οὔτε—οὔτε Haury : οὐδὲ—οὐδὲ MSS.
[5] πάθος PO : πλῆθος V.

fallen—twelve comrades from the forces of John and near them Ammatas and some of the Vandals. And hearing from the inhabitants of the place the whole story of the fight, they were vexed, being at a loss as to where they ought to go. But while they were still at a loss and from the hills were looking around over the whole country thereabouts, a dust appeared from the south and a little later a very large force of Vandal horsemen. And they sent to Belisarius urging him to come as quickly as possible, since the enemy were bearing down upon them. And the opinions of the commanders were divided. For some thought that they ought to close with their assailants, but the others said that their force was not sufficient for this. And while they were debating thus among themselves, the barbarians drew near under the leadership of Gelimer, who was following a road between the one which Belisarius was travelling and the one by which the Massagetae who had encountered Gibamundus had come. But since the land was hilly on both sides, it did not allow him to see either the disaster of Gibamundus or Belisarius' stockade, nor even the road along which Belisarius' men were advancing. But when they came near each other, a contest arose between the two armies as to which should capture the highest of all the hills there. For it seemed a suitable one to encamp upon, and both sides preferred to engage with the enemy from there. And the Vandals, coming first, took possession of the

τόν τε λόφον καταλαμβάνουσιν ὠθισμῷ χρησά-
μενοι καὶ τρέπονται τοὺς πολεμίους, ἤδη φοβεροὶ
23 αὐτοῖς γεγονότες. φεύγοντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς
χωρίον ἀφικνοῦνται σταδίους ἑπτὰ τοῦ Δεκίμου
ἀπέχον, ἔνθα δὴ Οὐλίαριν τὸν Βελισαρίου δορυ-
φόρον ξὺν ὑπασπισταῖς ὀκτακοσίοις τετύχηκεν
24 εἶναι. πάντες τε ᾤοντο ὡς σφᾶς οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν
Οὐλίαριν δεξάμενοι στήσονταί τε καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς
ὁμόσε ἐπὶ τοὺς Βανδίλους χωρήσουσιν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ
ἅμα ἐγένοντο, παρὰ δόξαν ἤδη ξύμπαντες ἀνὰ
κράτος τε ἔφευγον καὶ δρόμῳ τὴν ἐπὶ Βελισάριον
ᾔεσαν.
25 Ἐνθενδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὅ τί ποτε παθὼν
Γελίμερ, ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων τὸ τοῦ πολέμου
κράτος, ἐθελούσιος αὐτὸ τοῖς πολεμίοις μεθῆκε,
πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἐς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀβουλίας
ἀναφέρειν δεήσει, ὅς, ἡνίκα τι ἀνθρώπῳ συμβῆναι
βουλεύηται [1] φλαῦρον, τῶν λογισμῶν ἁψάμενος
πρῶτον οὐκ ἐᾷ τὰ ξυνοίσοντα ἐς βουλὴν ἔρχε-
26 σθαι. εἴτε γὰρ τὴν δίωξιν εὐθυωρὸν ἐποιήσατο,
οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸν ὑποστῆναι Βελισάριον οἶμαι, ἀλλ'
ἄρδην ἅπαντα ἡμῖν διαφθαρῆναι τὰ πράγματα·
27 τοσοῦτον δὴ τό τε τῶν Βανδίλων πλῆθος τό τε
αὐτῶν κατὰ Ῥωμαίων δέος ἐφαίνετο· εἴτε καὶ
Καρχηδόνος εὐθὺ ἤλασε, τούς τε σὺν Ἰωάννῃ
εὐπετῶς ἂν ἅπαντας ἔκτεινεν, οἵ γε κατὰ ἕνα
καὶ δύο ἀφροντιστήσαντές τε καὶ περιπάτους
ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ποιούμενοι τοὺς κειμένους ἐσύλων.
28 καὶ τὴν πόλιν ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι διασωσάμενος
τῶν τε ἡμετέρων νεῶν οὐ πόρρω ἀφικομένων
ἐκράτει καὶ ὅλην ἡμῖν ἀνέστελλε τοῦ τε ἀπόπλου

[1] βουλεύηται VP corr. O: βούλεται P pr. m. V_1.

hill by crowding off their assailants and routed the enemy, having already become an object of terror to them. And the Romans in flight came to a place seven stades distant from Decimum, where, as it happened, Uliaris, the personal guard of Belisarius, was, with eight hundred guardsmen. And all supposed that Uliaris would receive them and hold his position, and together with them would go against the Vandals; but when they came together, these troops all unexpectedly fled at top speed and went on the run to Belisarius.

From then on I am unable to say what happened to Gelimer that, having the victory in his hands, he willingly gave it up to the enemy, unless one ought to refer foolish actions also to God, who, whenever He purposes that some adversity shall befall a man, touches first his reason and does not permit that which will be to his advantage to come to his consideration. For if, on the one hand, he had made the pursuit immediately, I do not think that even Belisarius would have withstood him, but our cause would have been utterly and completely lost, so numerous appeared the force of the Vandals and so great the fear they inspired in the Romans; or if, on the other hand, he had even ridden straight for Carthage, he would easily have killed all John's men, who, heedless of everything else, were wandering about the plain one by one or by twos and stripping the dead. And he would have preserved the city with its treasures, and captured our ships, which had come rather near, and he would have withdrawn from us

καὶ τῆς νίκης ἐλπίδα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἔπραξε τούτων
29 οὐδέτερα. βάδην δὲ κατιὼν ἐκ τοῦ λόφου, ἐπεὶ
ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἐγένετο καὶ τἀδελφοῦ τὸν νεκρὸν
εἶδεν, ἔς τε ὀλοφύρσεις ἐτράπετο καὶ τῆς ταφῆς
ἐπιμελούμενος οὕτω δὴ τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν
ἤμβλυνεν, ἧς γε οὐκέτι ἀντιλαβέσθαι ἐδύνατο.
30 τοῖς δὲ φεύγουσι Βελισάριος ἀπαντήσας στῆναι
κελεύει, κοσμίως τε ἅπαντας διατάξας καὶ πολλὰ
ὀνειδίσας, ἐπειδὴ τήν τε Ἀμμάτα τελευτὴν καὶ
τὴν Ἰωάννου δίωξιν ἤκουσε[1] καὶ περὶ τοῦ χωρίου
καὶ τῶν πολεμίων ἐπύθετο ὅσα ἐβούλετο, δρόμῳ
31 ἐπὶ Γελίμερά τε καὶ Βανδίλους ἐχώρει. οἱ δὲ
βάρβαροι ἄτακτοί τε καὶ ἀπαράσκευοι ἤδη γε-
γονότες ἐπιόντας αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ
φεύγουσιν ἀνὰ κράτος, πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἀπο-
32 βαλόντες, καὶ ἡ μάχη ἐτελεύτα ἐς νύκτα. ἔφευγον
δὲ οἱ Βανδίλοι οὐκ ἐς Καρχηδόνα οὐδὲ ἐς Βυζάκιον,
ὅθενπερ ἧκον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ Βούλλης πεδίον καὶ τὴν
33 εἰς Νουμίδας ὁδὸν φέρουσαν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ τὸν
Ἰωάννην καὶ οἱ Μασσαγέται περὶ λύχνων ἁφὰς
εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀναστρέψαντες καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ ξυμβεβη-
κότα μαθόντες τε καὶ ἀναγγείλαντες[2] σὺν ἡμῖν ἐν
Δεκίμῳ διενυκτέρευσαν.

XX

Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τῶν πεζῶν ἅμα τῇ Βελισαρίου γυναικὶ παραγενομένων ξύμπαντες τὴν ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπορευόμεθα, ἔνθα δὴ περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν ἥκοντες ηὐλισάμεθα, καίτοι ἐκώλυεν οὐδεὶς ἐς τὴν

[1] καὶ τὴν—ἤκουσε VO: ἤκουσε καὶ τὴν ἰωάννου μεμάθηκε δίωξιν P. [2] ἀναγγείλαντες V: ἀγγείλαντες PO.

all hope both of sailing away and of victory. But in fact he did neither of these things. Instead he descended from the hill at a walk, and when he reached the level ground and saw the corpse of his brother, he turned to lamentations, and, in caring for his burial, he blunted the edge of his opportunity —an opportunity which he was not able to grasp again. Meantime Belisarius, meeting the fugitives, bade them stop, and arrayed them all in order and rebuked them at length; then, after hearing of the death of Ammatas and the pursuit of John, and learning what he wished concerning the place and the enemy, he proceeded at full speed against Gelimer and the Vandals. But the barbarians, having already fallen into disorder and being now unprepared, did not withstand the onset of the Romans, but fled with all their might, losing many there, and the battle ended at night. Now the Vandals were in flight, not to Carthage nor to Byzacium, whence they had come, but to the plain of Boulla and the road leading into Numidia. So the men with John and the Massagetae returned to us about dusk, and after learning all that had happened and reporting what they had done, they passed the night with us in Decimum.

XX

But on the following day the infantry with the wife of Belisarius came up and we all proceeded together on the road toward Carthage, which we reached in the late evening; and we passed the night in the open, although no one hindered us

πόλιν αὐτίκα ἐσελάσαι. οἵ τε γὰρ Καρχηδόνιοι
τὰς πύλας ἀνακλίναντες λύχνα ἔκαιον πανδημεὶ
καὶ ἡ πόλις κατελάμπετο τῷ πυρὶ τὴν νύκτα
ὅλην ἐκείνην, καὶ τῶν Βανδίλων οἱ ἀπολελειμ-
2 μένοι ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἱκέται ἐκάθηντο. ἀλλὰ Βε-
λισάριος διεκώλυσε τοῦ μήτε ἐνέδραν σφίσι πρὸς
τῶν πολεμίων γενέσθαι μήτε τοῖς στρατιώταις
ἄδειαν εἶναι, ἅτε ἐν νυκτὶ λανθάνουσιν, ἐς ἁρπα-
3 γὴν τραπέσθαι.[1] ταύτῃ[2] τῇ ἡμέρᾳ αἱ νῆες,
εὔρου σφίσιν ἀνέμου ἐπιπεσόντος, ἐς τὴν ἄκραν
ἀφίκοντο. καὶ οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἤδη γὰρ αὐτὰς
καθεώρων, τὰς σιδηρᾶς ἁλύσεις τοῦ λιμένος, ὃν
δὴ Μανδράκιον καλοῦσιν, ἀφελόμενοι, εἰσιτητὰ
4 τῷ στόλῳ ἐποίουν. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ βασιλέως αὐλῇ
οἴκημα σκότους ἀνάπλεων, ὃ δὴ Ἀγκῶνα κα-
λοῦσιν οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι, ἔνθα ἐνεβάλλοντο ἅπαν-
5 τες οἷς ἂν χαλεπαίνοι ὁ τύραννος. ἐνταῦθα
καθειργμένοι ἐτύγχανον πολλοὶ τῶν ἑῴων ἐμπό-
6 ρων ἐς ἐκεῖνο τοῦ χρόνου. τούτοις γὰρ δὴ ὁ
Γελίμερ χαλεπῶς εἶχεν, ἐπικαλῶν ὡς δὴ αὐτοὶ
βασιλέα ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ἐναγάγοιεν, ἔμελλόν τε
διαφθαρῆναι πάντες, δόξαν τοῦτο Γελίμερι ἐκείνῃ
τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ᾗ Ἀμμάτας ἐν Δεκίμῳ ἀπέθανε· παρὰ
7 τοσοῦτον κινδύνου ἦλθον. τούτου ὁ φύλαξ[3] τοῦ
δεσμωτηρίου, ἐπεὶ τά τε ἐν Δεκίμῳ πραχθέντα
ἤκουσε καὶ τὸν στόλον εἶδε τῆς ἄκρας ἐντός,
ἐσελθὼν ἐς τὸ οἴκημα πυνθάνεται τῶν ἀνδρῶν,
οὔπω τἀγαθὰ πεπυσμένων, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ σκότῳ
καθημένων καὶ καραδοκούντων τὸν θάνατον, τί

[1] τραπέσθαι PO : ἱκέσθαι V.
[2] Haury adds τε after ταύτῃ.
[3] φύλαξ V : δεσμοφύλαξ PO.

from marching into the city at once. For the Carthaginians opened the gates and burned lights everywhere and the city was brilliant with the illumination that whole night, and those of the Vandals who had been left behind were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuaries. But Belisarius prevented the entrance in order to guard against any ambuscade being set for his men by the enemy, and also to prevent the soldiers from having freedom to turn to plundering, as they might under the concealment of night. On that day, since an east wind arose for them, the ships reached the headland, and the Carthaginians, for they already sighted them, removed the iron chains of the harbour which they call Mandracium, and made it possible for the fleet to enter. Now there is in the king's palace a room filled with darkness, which the Carthaginians call Ancon, where all were cast with whom the tyrant was angry. In that place, as it happened, many of the eastern merchants had been confined up to that time. For Gelimer was angry with these men, charging them with having urged the emperor on to the war, and they were about to be destroyed, all of them, this having been decided upon by Gelimer on that day on which Ammatas was killed in Decimum; to such an extremity of danger did they come. The guard of this prison, upon hearing what had taken place in Decimum and seeing the fleet inside the point, entered the room and enquired of the men, who had not yet learned the good news, but were sitting in the darkness and expecting death, what among their

ποτε ἄρα βουλομένοις ἂν αὐτοῖς εἴη τῶν ὑπαρχ-
8 όντων προεμένοις σεσῶσθαι. τῶν δὲ ἅπαντα
αἱρουμένων διδόναι ἃ βούλοιτο, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν
ᾔτει τῶν πάντων χρημάτων, ἠξίου δὲ ἅπαντας
ὀμνύναι ὡς, ἢν διαφύγοιεν, καὶ αὐτῷ ἐν κινδύνοις
γενησομένῳ ξυλλήψονται ὅση δύναμις. οἱ μὲν
9 οὖν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίουν. ὁ δὲ τόν τε λόγον
ἅπαντα ἔφραζε καὶ σανίδα ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς θάλασσαν
ἀφελὼν μέρους προσιόντα τὸν στόλον ἐπέδειξε,[1]
τῆς τε εἱρκτῆς ἀφεὶς ἅπαντας ξὺν αὐτοῖς ᾔει.
10 Οἱ δὲ ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶν ὄντες, οὔπω τι ἀκηκοότες
ὧν ἐν τῇ γῇ ὁ στρατὸς ἔδρασε, διηποροῦντο, καὶ
τὰ ἱστία χαλάσαντες ἔς τε τὸ Μερκούριον πέμ-
ψαντες τὰ ἐν Δεκίμῳ πραχθέντα ἔμαθον, καὶ περι-
11 χαρεῖς γενόμενοι ἔπλεον. ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος
σφίσιν ἐπιφόρου ὄντος ἀπὸ σταδίων πεντήκοντα
καὶ ἑκατὸν Καρχηδόνος ἐγένοντο, Ἀρχέλαος μὲν
καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ὁρμίσασθαι ἐκέλευον,
τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δεδιότες πρόρρησιν, οἱ δὲ
12 ναῦται οὐκ ἐπείθοντο. τήν τε γὰρ ἐκείνῃ ἀκτὴν
ἀλίμενον εἶναι ἔφασκον καὶ χειμῶνα ἐπίσημον
αὐτίκα μάλα γενήσεσθαι ἐπίδοξον εἶναι, ὃν δὴ οἱ
13 ἐπιχώριοι Κυπριανὰ καλοῦσι. προὔλεγόν τε ὡς,
εἰ ἐνταῦθα σφίσιν ἐπιγένηται, οὐδ᾽ ἂν τῶν νεῶν
μίαν διασώσασθαι δυνατοὶ εἶεν. καὶ ἦν δὲ οὕτως.
14 ἐν βραχεῖ οὖν τά τε ἱστία χαλάσαντες καὶ βου-
λευσάμενοι τοῦ μὲν Μανδρακίου πειράσασθαι οὐκ
15 ᾤοντο χρῆναι (τάς τε γὰρ Βελισαρίου ἐντολὰς
ὑπεστέλλοντο καὶ ἅμα τὴν ἐς τὸ Μανδράκιον
εἴσοδον ταῖς ἁλύσεσιν ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι ὑπώπτευον,
ἄλλως τε καὶ τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ τὸν λιμένα ἐκεῖνον

[1] ἐπέδειξε VO : ἀπέδειξε P.

possessions they would be willing to give up and be saved. And when they said they desired to give everything he might wish, he demanded nothing of all their treasures, but required them all to swear that, if they escaped, they would assist him also with all their power when he came into danger. And they did this. Then he told them them the whole story, and tearing off a plank from the side toward the sea, he pointed out the fleet approaching, and releasing all from the prison went out with them.

But the men on the ships, having as yet heard nothing of what the army had done on the land, were completely at a loss, and slackening their sails they sent to the town of Mercurium; there they learned what had taken place at Decimum, and becoming exceedingly joyful sailed on. And when, with a favouring wind blowing, they came to within one hundred and fifty stades of Carthage, Archelaus and the soldiers bade them anchor there, fearing the warning of the general, but the sailors would not obey. For they said that the promontory at that point was without a harbour and also that the indications were that a well-known storm, which the natives call Cypriana, would arise immediately. And they predicted that, if it came upon them in that place, they would not be able to save even one of the ships. And it was as they said. So they slackened their sails for a short time and deliberated; and they did not think they ought to try for Mandracium (for they shrank from violating the commands of Belisarius, and at the same time they suspected that the entrance to Mandracium was closed by the chains, and besides they feared that this harbour was not

οὐχ ἱκανὸν εἶναι), τὸ δὲ Στάγνον σφίσιν ἐφαίνετο
ἐν καλῷ κεῖσθαι (μέτρῳ γὰρ σταδίων τεσσαρά-
κοντα Καρχηδόνος διέχει) ἐμπόδιόν τε οὐδὲν ἐν
αὐτῷ εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸν στόλον ἅπαντα ἱκανῶς
16 πεφυκέναι. ἔνθα δὴ ἀφικόμενοι περὶ λύχνων
ἁφὰς ὡρμίσαντο πάντες, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι Καλώνυ-
μος ἅμα τῶν ναυτῶν τισι, τοῦ τε στρατηγοῦ
ἀφροντιστήσας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ἔς τε τὸ
Μανδράκιον λάθρα ἀπέβη, οὐδενὸς κωλῦσαι
τολμήσαντος, καὶ χρήματα τῶν ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ
ᾠκημένων ἐμπόρων ξένων τε καὶ Καρχηδονίων
διήρπασε.
17 Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ Βελισάριος τούς τε ἐν
ταῖς ναυσὶ τὴν ἀπόβασιν ἐκέλευε ποιεῖσθαι καὶ
ὅλον διακοσμήσας τὸ στράτευμα διατάξας τε ὡς
ἐς μάχην ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐσήλαυνεν· ἐδεδίει γὰρ
μή τίς οἱ ἐνέδρα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ὑπαντιάσῃ.
18 ἔνθα δὴ πολλὰ μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας ὑπέμνησεν,
ἡλίκα σφίσιν εὐτυχήματα γένοιτο, ἐπειδὴ σω-
φροσύνην ἐς Λίβυας ἐπεδείξαντο, πολλὰ δὲ παρῄ-
νεσε τὴν εὐκοσμίαν ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὡς μάλιστα
19 διασώσασθαι. Λίβυας γὰρ ἅπαντας Ῥωμαίους
τὸ ἀνέκαθεν ὄντας γενέσθαι τε ὑπὸ Βανδίλοις
οὔτι ἐθελουσίους καὶ πολλὰ πεπονθέναι πρὸς
20 ἀνδρῶν βαρβάρων ἀνόσια. διὸ δὴ καὶ βασιλέα
ἐς πόλεμον καταστῆναι Βανδίλοις, εἶναί τε οὐχ
ὅσιον ξυμβῆναί τι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἄχαρι ἐς ἀνθρώ-
πους ὧν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπόθεσιν ποιησάμενοι
21 ἐπὶ Βανδίλους ἐστράτευσαν. τοσαῦτα παραινέ-
σας ἔς τε Καρχηδόνα εἰσῆλθε καί, ἐπεὶ πολέμιον
σφίσιν οὐδὲν ἐφαίνετο,[1] ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον ἀναβὰς

[1] ἐφαίνετο VP : ἀπήντα O.

sufficient for the whole fleet) but Stagnum seemed to them well situated (for it is forty stades distant from Carthage), and there was nothing in it to hinder them, and also it was large enough for the whole fleet. There they arrived about dusk and all anchored, except, indeed, that Calonymus with some of the sailors, disregarding the general and all the others, went off secretly to Mandracium, no one daring to hinder him, and plundered the property of the merchants dwelling on the sea, both foreigners and Carthaginians.

On the following day Belisarius commanded those on the ships to disembark, and after marshalling the whole army and drawing it up in battle formation, he marched into Carthage; for he feared lest he should encounter some snare set by the enemy. There he reminded the soldiers at length of how much good fortune had come to them because they had displayed moderation toward the Libyans, and he exhorted them earnestly to preserve good order with the greatest care in Carthage. For all the Libyans had been Romans in earlier times and had come under the Vandals by no will of their own and had suffered many outrages at the hands of these barbarians. For this very reason the emperor had entered into war with the Vandals, and it was not holy that any harm should come from them to the people whose freedom they had made the ground for taking the field against the Vandals. After such words of exhortation he entered Carthage, and, since Sept. 15, 533 A.D.
no enemy was seen by them, he went up to the

22 ἐν τῷ Γελίμερος θρόνῳ ἐκάθισεν. ἐνταῦθα ἐντυ-
χόντες πολλῇ κραυγῇ Βελισαρίῳ ἐμπόρων τε
πλῆθος καὶ ἄλλοι Καρχηδόνιοι ὅσοις ἐπιθαλάσ-
σια τὰ οἰκία[1] τετύχηκεν εἶναι, ᾐτιῶντο ἁρπαγὴν
σφίσι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ προλαβούσῃ νυκτὶ
23 πρὸς τῶν ναυτῶν ξυμβῆναι. ὁ δὲ Καλώνυμον
ὅρκοις καταλαμβάνει ἦ μὴν ἅπαντα ἐς τὸ ἐμφανὲς
24 ἐνεγκεῖν τὰ φώρια. Καλώνυμος δὲ ὀμόσας τε
καὶ τὰ ὀμωμοσμένα ἐν ἀλογίᾳ ποιησάμενος τὸ
μὲν παραυτίκα τὰ χρήματα ἐληίσατο, χρόνῳ δὲ
οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τὴν δίκην ἔτισεν ἐς Βυζάντιον.
25 νόσῳ γὰρ ἁλοὺς τῇ καλουμένῃ ἀποπληξίᾳ καὶ
τῶν φρενῶν ἔξω γενόμενος τῆς τε γλώσσης ἀπο-
τραγὼν τῆς αὑτοῦ, εἶτα ἀπέθανεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα
μὲν χρόνῳ τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἐγένετο.

XXI

Τότε δὲ Βελισάριος, ἐπεὶ ὁ καιρὸς ἐς τοῦτο
ἦγεν, ἄριστον σφίσιν ἐκέλευε γενέσθαι οὗ δὴ
Γελίμερ τοὺς τῶν Βανδίλων ἡγουμένους ἑστιᾶν
2 εἰώθει. Δέλφικα τὸν τόπον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐ
τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ παλαιὸν
ἑλληνίζοντες. ἐν Παλατίῳ γὰρ τῷ ἐπὶ Ῥώμης,
ἔνθα ξυνέβαινε στιβάδας τὰς βασιλέως εἶναι,
τρίπους ἐκ παλαιοῦ[2] εἱστήκει, ἐφ' οὗ δὴ τὰς
3 κύλικας οἱ βασιλέως οἰνοχόοι ἐτίθεντο. Δέλφικα
δὲ τὸν τρίποδα καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἐν
Δελφοῖς γέγονε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἔν τε Βυζαντίῳ
καὶ ὅπη βασιλέως εἶναι στιβάδα ξυμβαίνει Δέλ-
φικα τοῦτο καλοῦσι τὸ οἴκημα, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ

[1] *οἰκία* VO : *οἰκήματα* P. [2] *παλαιοῦ* PO : *παλαιῶν* V.

palace and seated himself on Gelimer's throne. There a crowd of merchants and other Carthaginians came before Belisarius with much shouting, persons whose homes were on the sea, and they made the charge that there had been a robbery of their property on the preceding night by the sailors. And Belisarius bound Calonymus by oaths to bring without fail all his thefts to the light. And Calonymus, taking the oath and disregarding what he had sworn, for the moment made the money his plunder, but not long afterwards he paid his just penalty in Byzantium. For being taken with the disease called apoplexy, he became insane and bit off his own tongue and then died. But this happened at a later time.

XXI

But then, since the hour was appropriate, Belisarius commanded that lunch be prepared for them, in the very place where Gelimer was accustomed to entertain the leaders of the Vandals. This place the Romans call "Delphix," not in their own tongue, but using the Greek word according to the ancient custom. For in the palace at Rome, where the dining couches of the emperor were placed, a tripod had stood from olden times, on which the emperor's cupbearers used to place the cups. Now the Romans call a tripod "Delphix," since they were first made at Delphi, and from this both in Byzantium and wherever there is a king's dining couch they call the room "Delphix"; for the Romans follow the Greek

βασιλέως οἰκία Παλάτιον ἑλληνίζοντες καλοῦσι
4 *Ῥωμαῖοι. Πάλλαντος γὰρ ἀνδρὸς Ἕλληνος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ οἰκήσαντος πρὸ Ἰλίου ἁλώσεως οἰκίαν τε λόγου ἀξίαν ἐνταῦθα δειμαμένου, Παλάτιον μὲν τὸ οἴκημα τοῦτο ἐκάλουν, ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτοκράτορα παραλαβὼν ἀρχὴν Αὔγουστος ἐνταῦθα καταλύειν τὸ πρῶτον ἔγνω, Παλάτιον ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλοῦσι τὸ χωρίον οὗ ἂν βασιλεὺς κατα-*
5 *λύῃ.*[1] *ἐν Δέλφικι τοίνυν Βελισάριός τε ἤσθιε*
6 *καὶ εἴ τι ἐν τῷ στρατεύματι δόκιμον ἦν. τετύχηκε δὲ τὸ τῇ προτεραίᾳ τῷ Γελίμερι γεγονὸς ἄριστον ἐν παρασκευῇ εἶναι. καὶ ταῖς τε βρώσεσιν αὐταῖς εἱστιάθημεν*[2] *ἥ τε τοῦ Γελίμερος θεραπεία παρετίθει τε καὶ ᾠνοχόει καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὑπούργει.*
7 *παρῆν τε ἰδεῖν ὡραϊζομένην τὴν τύχην καὶ ποιουμένην ἐπίδειξιν ὡς ἅπαντά τε αὐτῆς εἴη καὶ οὐδὲν*
8 *ἀνθρώπῳ ἴδιον γένοιτο. Βελισαρίῳ δὲ ξυνηνέχθη ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ εὐδοκιμῆσαι ὡς οὔτε*[3] *τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν οὐδενὶ πώποτε οὔτε*[3] *τῳ ἄλλῳ τῶν ἐκ*
9 *παλαιοῦ γεγονότων τετύχηκε. τῶν γὰρ δὴ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων θορύβου χωρὶς ἐς πόλιν κατήκοον σφίσιν οὐδ' ἂν κατὰ πεντακοσίους εἶεν ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου ἰέναι, οὕτω δὴ κοσμίους ἅπαντας ὁ στρατηγὸς οὗτος τοὺς ἀρχομένους παρέσχετο ὥστε οὐδὲ*
10 *ὕβριν τινὰ ἢ ἀπειλὴν γενέσθαι, οὐ μὴν οὐδέ τι ἐμπόδισμα τῇ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐργασίᾳ ξυνέβη, ἀλλ' ἐν ἁλούσῃ πόλει καὶ πολιτείαν μεταβαλούσῃ καὶ βασιλείαν ἀλλαξαμένῃ οὐδὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς*

[1] *καταλύῃ* O : *καταλύει* V, *καταλύοι* P.
[2] *εἱστιάθημεν* P : *εἱστία* O.
[3] *οὔτε—οὔτε* Haury : *οὐδὲ—οὐδὲ* MSS.

also in calling the emperor's residence "Palatium." For a Greek named Pallas lived in this place before the capture of Troy and built a noteworthy house there, and they called this dwelling "Palatium"; and when Augustus received the imperial power, he decided to take up his first residence in that house, and from this they call the place wherever the emperor resides "Palatium." So Belisarius dined in the Delphix and with him all the notables of the army. And it happened that the lunch made for Gelimer on the preceding day was in readiness. And we feasted on that very food and the domestics of Gelimer served it and poured the wine and waited upon us in every way. And it was possible to see Fortune in her glory and making a display of the fact that all things are hers and that nothing is the private possession of any man. And it fell to the lot of Belisarius on that day to win such fame as no one of the men of his time ever won nor indeed any of the men of olden times. For though the Roman soldiers were not accustomed to enter a subject city without confusion, even if they numbered only five hundred, and especially if they made the entry unexpectedly, all the soldiers under the command of this general showed themselves so orderly that there was not a single act of insolence nor a threat, and indeed nothing happened to hinder the business of the city; but in a captured city, one which had changed its government and shifted its allegiance, it came about that no man's household

ἀγορᾶς ξυνέβη τινὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι,
ἀλλ' οἱ γραμματεῖς τὰ βιβλίδια γράψαντες τοὺς
στρατιώτας, ὥσπερ εἰώθει, ἐς τὰς οἰκίας εἰσή-
γαγον, αὐτοί τε ὤνιον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ ἄριστον
λαβόντες ὡς ἑκάστῳ ἦν βουλομένῳ ἡσύχαζον.
11 Μετὰ δὲ Βελισάριος Βανδίλοις τε τοῖς ἐς τὰ
ἱερὰ καταφυγοῦσι πιστὰ ἐδίδου καὶ τῶν τειχῶν
ἐπεμελεῖτο. ἦν γὰρ ὁ Καρχηδόνος περίβολος
οὕτω δὴ ἀπημελημένος[1] ὥστε ἐσβατὸς[2] ἐν χώροις
πολλοῖς τῷ βουλομένῳ καὶ[3] εὐέφοδος[4] ἐγεγόνει.
12 μοῖρα γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγη αὐτοῦ κατεπεπτώκει καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο Γελίμερα οἱ Καρχηδόνιοι ἔφασκον ἐν τῇ
13 πόλει οὐχ ὑποστῆναι. οὐ γὰρ ἄν ποτε οἴεσθαι
χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ οἷόν τε εἶναι τῷ περιβόλῳ τούτῳ
14 τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἀνασώσασθαι. ἔλεγον δέ τι καὶ
λόγιον παλαιὸν ἐν Καρχηδόνι πρὸς τῶν παιδίων
ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις εἰρῆσθαι ὡς τὸ γάμμα διώξει
τὸ βῆτα, καὶ πάλιν αὐτὸ[5] τὸ βῆτα διώξει τὸ
15 γάμμα. καὶ τότε μὲν παίζουσιν αὐτὸ τοῖς παι-
δίοις εἰρῆσθαι καὶ ἀπολελεῖφθαι ἐν αἰνίγματος
ἀπορουμένου μοίρᾳ, νῦν δὲ ἅπασιν ἄντικρυς φανε-
16 ρὸν εἶναι. πρότερόν τε γὰρ Γιζέριχος Βονιφάτιον
ἐξεδίωξε καὶ τανῦν Γελίμερα Βελισάριος. τοῦτο
μὲν οὖν, εἴτε φήμη τις ἦν εἴτε λόγιον, ταύτῃ
ἐχώρησε.
17 Τότε δὲ καὶ ὄναρ πολλοῖς μὲν πολλάκις ὀφθὲν
πρότερον, ἄδηλον δὲ γεγονὸς ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται, ἐς
φῶς ἐληλύθει. ἐτύγχανε δὲ ὂν τὸ ὄναρ τοιόνδε.
Κυπριανόν, ἅγιον ἄνδρα, μάλιστα πάντων οἱ

[1] ἀπημελημένος V : ἀτημελημένος P, ἠτημελημένος O.
[2] ὥστε ἐσβατὸς VP : ὥστ' ἐσβαλεῖν O.
[3] καὶ om. O. [4] εὐέφοδος VP : εὐέφοδον O.
[5] αὐτὸ VP : αὐτοῖς O, αὖ Christ.

was excluded from the privileges of the market-place; on the contrary, the clerks drew up their lists of the men and conducted the soldiers to their lodgings, just as usual,[1] and the soldiers themselves, getting their lunch by purchase from the market, rested as each one wished.

Afterwards Belisarius gave pledges to those Vandals who had fled into the sanctuaries, and began to take thought for the fortifications. For the circuit-wall of Carthage had been so neglected that in many places it had become accessible to anyone who wished and easy to attack. For no small part of it had fallen down, and it was for this reason, the Carthaginians said, that Gelimer had not made his stand in the city. For he thought that it would be impossible in a short time to restore such a circuit-wall to a safe condition. And they said that an old oracle had been uttered by the children in earlier times in Carthage, to the effect that "gamma shall pursue beta, and again beta itself shall pursue gamma." And at that time it had been spoken by the children in play and had been left as an unexplained riddle, but now it was perfectly clear to all. For formerly Gizeric had driven out Boniface and now Belisarius was doing the same to Gelimer. This, then, whether it was a rumour or an oracle, came out as I have stated.

At that time a dream also came to light, which had been seen often before this by many persons, but without being clear as to how it would turn out. And the dream was as follows. Cyprian,[2] a holy man, is reverenced above all others by the

[1] The troops were billeted as at a peaceful occupation.
[2] St. Cyprian (*circa* 200–257 A.D.), Bishop of Carthage.

18 Καρχηδόνιοι σέβονται. καὶ αὐτῷ νεών τινα λόγου
πολλοῦ ἄξιον πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἱδρυσάμενοι παρὰ
τὴν τῆς θαλάσσης ἠιόνα τά τε ἄλλα ἐξοσιοῦνται
καὶ ἄγουσιν ἑορτὴν ἣν δὴ Κυπριανὰ καλοῦσι, καὶ
ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν χειμῶνα οἱ ναῦται, οὗπερ ἐγὼ
ἀρτίως ἐμνήσθην, ὁμωνύμως τῇ πανηγύρει προσ-
αγορεύειν εἰώθασιν, ἐπεὶ ἐς τὸν καιρὸν ἐπισκή-
πτειν φιλεῖ ἐφ' οὗ ταύτην οἱ Λίβυες ἄγειν ἐς ἀεὶ
19 τὴν ἑορτὴν νενομίκασι. τοῦτον οἱ Βανδίλοι τὸν
νεὼν ἐπὶ Ὁνωρίχου βασιλεύοντος τοὺς Χρισ-
20 τιανοὺς βιασάμενοι ἔσχον. καὶ αὐτῶν[1] ἐνθένδε
ξὺν πολλῇ ἀτιμίᾳ τοὺς ἱερέας εὐθὺς ἐξελάσαντες
αὐτοὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τὸ λοιπόν, ἅτε προσηκόντων
21 Ἀρειανοῖς, ἐπεμελοῦντο.[2] ἀσχάλλουσιν οὖν διὰ
ταῦτα καὶ διαπορουμένοις τοῖς Λίβυσι πολλάκις
φασὶ τὸν Κυπριανὸν ὄναρ ἐπισκήψαντα φάναι
ἀμφ' αὐτῷ μεριμνᾶν τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς ἥκιστα
χρῆναι· αὐτὸν γάρ οἱ προϊόντος τοῦ χρόνου τιμω-
22 ρὸν ἔσεσθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς
τοὺς Λίβυας ἅπαντας ἦλθε, καραδοκεῖν μὲν αὐ-
τοὺς τίσιν ποτέ τινα τῶν ἱερῶν τούτων ἕνεκα ἐς
τοὺς Βανδίλους ἀφίξεσθαι, οὐκ ἔχειν μέντοι τεκ-
μηριῶσαι ὅπῃ ποτὲ αὐτοῖς ἡ τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψις
23 ἐκβήσεται. νῦν οὖν, ἐπεὶ ἐς Λιβύην ὁ βασιλέως
στόλος ἀφίκετο (ἐπανιὼν γὰρ ἤδη ὁ χρόνος τῇ
ὑστεραίᾳ τὴν πανήγυριν ἀγαγεῖν ἔμελλεν), οἱ μὲν
τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἱερεῖς, καίπερ Ἀμμάτα Βανδίλοις
ἐς Δέκιμον ἡγησαμένου, τό τε ἱερὸν ἐκάθηραν
ἅπαν καὶ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀναθημάτων τὰ κάλλιστα

[1] ἔσχον. καὶ αὐτῶν MSS. : ἀφείλοντο Euagrius.
[2] αὐτοὶ—ἐπεμελοῦντο MSS. : καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἅτε προσήκοντα Ἀρειανοῖς ἐπανώρθουν Euagrius.

Carthaginians. And they have founded a very noteworthy temple in his honour before the city on the sea-shore, in which they conduct all other customary services, and also celebrate there a festival which they call the "Cypriana"; and the sailors are accustomed to name after Cyprian the storm, which I mentioned lately,[1] giving it the same name as the festival, since it is wont to come on at the time at which the Libyans have always been accustomed to celebrate the festival. This temple the Vandals took from the Christians by violence in the reign of Honoric. And they straightway drove out their priests from the temple in great dishonour, and themselves thereafter attended to the sacred festival which, they said, now belonged to the Arians. And the Libyans, indeed, were angry on this account and altogether at a loss, but Cyprian, they say, often sent them a dream saying that there was not the least need for the Christians to be concerned about him; for he himself as time went on would be his own avenger. And when the report of this was passed around and came to all the Libyans, they were expecting that some vengeance would come upon the Vandals at some time because of this sacred festival, but were unable to conjecture how in the world the vision would be realized for them. Now, therefore, when the emperor's expedition had come to Libya, since the time had already come round and would bring the celebration of the festival on the succeeding day, the priests of the Arians, in spite of the fact that Ammatas had led the Vandals to Decimum, cleansed the whole sanctuary and were engaged in hanging up the most

[1] Chap. xx. 13.

ἐκρέμων, καὶ τὰ λύχνα ἐν παρασκευῇ ποιησά-
μενοι τά τε κειμήλια ἐξενεγκόντες ἐκ τῶν ταμιείων
ἡτοίμαζον ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα, ὥς πη αὐτῶν ἕκαστον
24 ἐς τὴν χρείαν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον ἐτύγχανε. τὰ δὲ
ἐν Δεκίμῳ οὕτως ὥσπερ μοι προδεδήλωται γενέ-
25 σθαι ξυνέβη. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῶν Ἀρειανῶν ἱερεῖς
φεύγοντες ᾤχοντο, Χριστιανοὶ δὲ οἷς τὰ ἐς τὴν
δόξαν ὀρθῶς ἤσκηται, ἀφικόμενοι ἐς τοῦ Κυπρια-
νοῦ τὸν νεών, τά τε λύχνα ἔκαιον ἅπαντα καὶ τῶν
ἱερῶν ἐπεμελοῦντο ᾗπερ αὐτοῖς τελεῖσθαι ταῦτα
νόμος, οὕτω τε ἅπασιν ἃ δὴ προὔλεγεν ἡ τοῦ
ὀνείρου ὄψις ἐγνώσθη. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τῇδε
ἐχώρησεν.

XXII

Οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι[1] λόγου παλαιοῦ ἀναμνησθέντες
ἐθαύμαζον, ἐξεπιστάμενοι τὸ λοιπὸν ὡς ἀνθρώπῳ
γε ὄντι οὔτ'[2] ἂν ἄπιστός τις ἐλπὶς οὔτε[2] κτῆσις
2 βέβαιος γένοιτο. ὅστις δὲ ἦν οὗτος ὁ λόγος καὶ
3 ὅντινα ἐρρήθη τρόπον, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἡνίκα Βαν-
δίλοι κατ' ἀρχὰς τῷ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι ἐξ ἠθῶν τῶν
πατρίων ἀνίστασθαι ἔμελλον, μοῖρά τις αὐτῶν
ἀπελείπετο, οἷς δὴ ὀκνήσει ἐχομένοις πρὸς ἡδονὴν
4 Γωδιγίσκλῳ ἐπισπέσθαι οὐκ ἦν. προϊόντος δὲ
χρόνου τοῖς τε μείνασι τὰ ἐς τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τὴν
ἀφθονίαν εὖ ἔχειν ἐδόκει καὶ Γιζέριχος ξὺν τοῖς
5 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν Λιβύην ἔσχεν. ὅπερ ἀκούσαντες οἱ
Γωδιγίσκλῳ οὐκ ἐπισπόμενοι ἔχαιρον, τῆς χώρας
λοιπὸν ἰσχυρότατα σφίσιν ἐς τὸ ἀποζῆν διαρ-

[1] οἱ δὲ βανδίλοι VO: ἡ δὲ τῶν βανδίλων τάξις P.
[2] οὔτ'—οὔτε Haury: οὐδ'—οὐδὲ MSS.

beautiful of the votive offerings there, and making ready the lamps and bringing out the treasures from the store-houses and preparing all things with exactness, arranging everything according to its appropriate use. But the events in Decimum turned out in the manner already described. And the priests of the Arians were off in flight, while the Christians who conform to the orthodox faith came to the temple of Cyprian, and they burned all the lamps and attended to the sacred festival just as is customary for them to perform this service, and thus it was known to all what the vision of the dream was foretelling. This, then, came about in this way.

XXII

AND the Vandals, recalling an ancient saying, marvelled, understanding clearly thereafter that for a man, at least, no hope could be impossible nor any possession secure. And what this saying was and in what manner it was spoken I shall explain. When the Vandals originally, pressed by hunger, were about to remove from their ancestral abodes, a certain part of them was left behind who were reluctant to go and not desirous of following Godigisclus. And as time went on it seemed to those who had remained that they were well off as regards abundance of provisions, and Gizeric with his followers gained possession of Libya. And when this was heard by those who had not followed Godigisclus, they rejoiced, since thenceforth the country was altogether

6 κούσης. δείσαντες δὲ μὴ χρόνῳ τινὶ πολλῷ
ὕστερον ἢ αὐτοὶ ὅσοι Λιβύην ἔσχον, ἢ οἱ τούτων
ἀπόγονοι ὅτῳ δὴ τρόπῳ Λιβύης ἐξελαυνόμενοι
ἐπανήξουσιν ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη (οὐ γάρ ποτε
Ῥωμαίους αὐτὴν ἐς ἀεὶ περιόψεσθαι ὑπετόπαζον),
7 πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν παρ'[1] αὐτούς. οἵ, ἐπεὶ Γιζε-
ρίχῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἦκον, συνήδεσθαι μὲν τοῖς ὁμογενέ-
σιν οὕτω δὴ εὐημερήσασιν ἔφασκον, φυλάσσειν
δὲ περαιτέρω τὴν γῆν οὐχ οἷοί τε εἶναι ἧσπερ
8 αὐτοὶ ὠλιγωρηκότες ἐπὶ Λιβύης ἱδρύσαντο. ἐδέ-
οντο οὖν, εἰ μὴ γῆς τῆς πατρῴας μεταποιοῦνται,
κτήματι αὐτοὺς ἀνονήτῳ σφίσι δωρήσασθαι, ὅπως
δὴ κύριοι τῆς χώρας ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα γεγενη-
μένοι, ἤν τις κακουργήσων ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἴοι, ὡς
9 ἥκιστα ἀπαξιοῦν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς θνήσκειν. Γιζερίχῳ
μὲν οὖν καὶ Βανδίλοις τοῖς ἄλλοις εὖ τε καὶ τὰ
δίκαια λέγειν ἔδοξαν, καὶ ξυνεχώρουν ἅπαντα ὅσα
10 οἱ πρέσβεις αὐτῶν ἔχρηζον. γέρων δέ τις ἀνὴρ
ἐν αὐτοῖς δόκιμος καὶ δόξαν ἐπὶ ξυνέσει πολλήν
τινα ἔχων τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐπιτρέψειν οὐδαμῇ ἔφη.
τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρωπείων οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς
ἵστασθαι, ἀλλ' εἶναι αὐτοῖς ἐς τὸν πάντα αἰῶνα
βέβαιον μὲν τῶν ὄντων οὐδέν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντων
11 οὐδὲν ἀμήχανον. ταῦτα ὁ Γιζέριχος ἀκούσας
ἐπῄνεσέ τε καὶ τοὺς πρέσβεις ἀπράκτους ἀπο-
πέμπεσθαι ἔγνω. τότε μὲν οὖν αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ
παραινέσας ἅτε τὰ ἀμήχανα προορώμενοι, πρὸς
12 πάντων Βανδίλων γέλωτα ὦφλον. ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα

[1] παρ' VO: πρὸς P.

sufficient for them to live upon. But fearing lest at some time much later either the very ones who had conquered Libya, or their descendants, should in some way or other be driven out of Libya and return to their ancestral homes (for they never supposed that the Romans would let Libya be held for ever), they sent ambassadors to them. And these men, upon coming before Gizeric, said that they rejoiced with their compatriots who had met with such success, but that they were no longer able to guard the land of which he and his men had thought so little that they had settled in Libya. They prayed therefore that, if they laid no claim to their fatherland, they would bestow it as an unprofitable possession upon themselves, so that their title to the land might be made as secure as possible, and if anyone should come to do it harm, they might by no means disdain to die in behalf of it. Gizeric, accordingly, and all the other Vandals thought that they spoke fairly and justly, and they were in the act of granting everything which the envoys desired of them. But a certain old man who was esteemed among them and had a great reputation for discretion said that he would by no means permit such a thing. "For in human affairs," he said, "not one thing stands secure; nay, nothing which now exists is stable for all time for men, while as regards that which does not yet exist, there is nothing which may not come to pass." When Gizeric heard this, he expressed approval and decided to send the envoys away with nothing accomplished. Now at that time both he himself and the man who had given the advice were judged worthy of ridicule by all the Vandals, as foreseeing the impossible. But when these things which have been told took

*ἅπερ ἐρρήθη ἐγένετο, μετέμαθόν τε τῶν ἀνθρω-
πείων πραγμάτων οἱ Βανδίλοι τὴν φύσιν καὶ
σοφοῦ τὸ ἔπος εἶναι ἀνδρὸς ἔγνωσαν.*
13 *Τούτων μὲν οὖν Βανδίλων οἳ ἔμειναν ἐν γῇ τῇ
πατρῴᾳ, οὔτε[1] μνήμη τις οὔτε[1] ὄνομα ἐς ἐμὲ
σώζεται. ἅτε γάρ, οἶμαι, ὀλίγοις τισὶν οὖσιν ἢ
βεβιάσθαι πρὸς βαρβάρων τῶν σφίσιν ὁμόρων ἢ
ἀναμεμίχθαι οὔτι ἀκουσίοις[2] τετύχηκε, τό τε
14 ὄνομα ἐς αὐτούς πῃ ἀποκεκρίσθαι. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
ἡσσημένοις τότε πρὸς Βελισαρίου Βανδίλοις ἔν-
15 νοια γέγονεν ἐς ἤθη τὰ πάτρια ἐνθένδε ἰέναι. οὐ
γὰρ εἶχον ἐκ Λιβύης ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου, ἄλλως τε
καὶ νεῶν οὐ παρουσῶν σφίσιν, ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην
κομίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔτισαν ἐνταῦθα τὴν δίκην ἁπάν-
των ὧνπερ ἐς Ῥωμαίους εἰργάσαντο καὶ οὐχ
16 ἥκιστα ἐς Ζακυνθίους. Γιζέριχος γάρ, ἐπισκήψας
ποτὲ τοῖς ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ χωρίοις, Ταινάρῳ
προσβαλεῖν ἐνεχείρησεν. ἐνθένδε τε κατὰ τάχος
ἀποκρουσθεὶς καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων ἀπο-
17 βαλὼν ἀνεχώρησεν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ. διὸ δὴ τῷ
θυμῷ ἔτι ἐχόμενος Ζακύνθῳ προσέσχε, καὶ πολ-
λοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐν ποσὶ κτείνας, τῶν δὲ δοκίμων ἐς
πεντακοσίους ἀνδραποδίσας δι' ὀλίγου ἀπέπλευ-
18 σεν. ἐπειδή τε γέγονεν ἐν μέσῳ τῷ Ἀδριατικῷ
καλουμένῳ πελάγει, ἐνταῦθα κρεουργήσας τῶν
πεντακοσίων τὰ σώματα, πανταχῇ τῆς θαλάσσης
οὐδὲν ὑπολογισάμενος ἔρριψεν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν
ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἐγένετο.*

[1] *οὔτε—οὔτε* Haury : *οὐδὲ—οὐδὲ* MSS.
[2] *ἀκουσίοις* VP : *ἑκουσίοις* O.

place, the Vandals learned to take a different view of the nature of human affairs and realized that the saying was that of a wise man.

Now as for those Vandals who remained in their native land, neither remembrance nor any name of them has been preserved to my time.[1] For since, I suppose, they were a small number, they were either overpowered by the neighbouring barbarians or they were mingled with them not at all unwillingly and their name gave way to that of their conquerors. Indeed, when the Vandals were conquered at that time by Belisarius, no thought occurred to them to go from there to their ancestral homes. For they were not able to convey themselves suddenly from Libya to Europe, especially as they had no ships at hand, but paid the penalty[2] there for all the wrongs they had done the Romans and especially the Zacynthians. For at one time Gizeric, falling suddenly upon the towns in the Peloponnesus, undertook to assault Taenarum. And being repulsed from there and losing many of his followers he retired in complete disorder. And while he was still filled with anger on account of this, he touched at Zacynthus, and having killed many of those he met and enslaved five hundred of the notables, he sailed away soon afterwards. And when he reached the middle of the Adriatic Sea, as it is called, he cut into small pieces the bodies of the five hundred and threw them all about the sea without the least concern. But this happened in earlier times.

[1] Compare the remarks of Gibbon, iv. p. 295.

[2] In *Arcana*, 18, 5 ff.; Procopius estimates the number of the Vandals in Africa, at the time of Belisarius, at 80,000 males, and intimates that practically all perished.

XXIII

Γελίμερ δὲ τότε χρήματά τε πολλὰ Λιβύων
τοῖς γεωργοῖς προϊέμενος καὶ φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐς
αὐτοὺς χρώμενος ἐπαγαγέσθαι πολλοὺς ἴσχυσεν.
2 οὓς δὴ ἐκέλευσε Ῥωμαίων τοὺς ἐς τὰ χωρία
περιιόντας κτείνειν, χρυσίον τακτὸν ἐπὶ φόνῳ
3 ἑκάστῳ τῷ ἀπολοῦντι ἐπικηρύξας. οἱ δὲ πολλοὺς
τοῦ Ῥωμαίων στρατοῦ ἔκτεινον, οὐ στρατιώτας
μέντοι, ἀλλὰ δούλους τε καὶ ὑπηρέτας, οἳ δὴ
χρημάτων ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐς τὰς κώμας ἀναβαίνοντες
4 λάθρα ἡλίσκοντο. καὶ αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς οἱ
γεωργοὶ παρὰ Γελίμερα φέροντες αὐτοὶ μὲν ἔμμι-
σθοι γενόμενοι ἀπηλλάσσοντο, ὁ δὲ στρατιώτας
ἀνῃρηκέναι πολεμίους ὑπώπτευεν.
5 Ἐνταῦθα τοῦ χρόνου Διογένης, ὁ Βελισαρίου
δορυφόρος, ἔργα ἐπεδείξατο ἀρετῆς ἄξια. σταλεὶς
γάρ[1] ἅμα τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν δύο καὶ εἴκοσιν ἐπὶ
κατασκοπῇ τῶν ἐναντίων, ἐγένετο ἐν χωρίῳ δυοῖν
6 ἡμέραιν ὁδὸν Καρχηδόνος διέχοντι. τούτους δὲ
τοὺς ἄνδρας (οὐ γὰρ οἷοί τε ἦσαν οἱ τοῦ χωρίου
γεωργοὶ κτείνειν) ἀγγέλλουσι τῷ Γελίμερι ἐνταῦθα
7 εἶναι. καὶ ὃς τριακοσίους ἀπολεξάμενος Βανδί-
λων ἱππέας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔστελλε, ζῶντας ἅπαντας
8 ἐπισκήψας[2] παρ' αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν. λόγου γὰρ πολ-
λοῦ ἄξιόν οἱ ἔδοξεν εἶναι Βελισαρίου δορυφόρον
ξὺν ὑπασπισταῖς δύο καὶ εἴκοσι δορυαλώτους
9 ποιήσασθαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀμφὶ Διογένην ἐς οἰκίαν
ἐσεληλυθότες τινὰ ἐκάθευδον ἐν τῷ ὑπερῴῳ,

[1] γὰρ VO : γὰρ λάθρα P. [2] ἐπισκήψας V : ἐπιστείλας PO.

XXIII

But at that time Gelimer, by distributing much money to the farmers among the Libyans and shewing great friendliness toward them, succeeded in winning many to his side. These he commanded to kill the Romans who went out into the country, proclaiming a fixed sum of gold for each man killed, to be paid to him who did the deed. And they killed many from the Roman army, not soldiers, however, but slaves and servants, who because of a desire for money went up into the villages stealthily and were caught. And the farmers brought their heads before Gelimer and departed receiving their pay, while he supposed that they had slain soldiers of the enemy.

At that time Diogenes, the aide of Belisarius, made a display of valorous deeds. For having been sent, together with twenty-two of the body-guards, to spy upon their opponents, he came to a place two days' journey distant from Carthage. And the farmers of the place, being unable to kill these men, reported to Gelimer that they were there. And he chose out and sent against them three hundred horsemen of the Vandals, enjoining upon them to bring all the men alive before him. For it seemed to him a most remarkable achievement to make captive a personal aide of Belisarius with twenty-two body-guards. Now Diogenes and his party had entered a certain house and were sleeping in the

πολέμιον οὐδὲν[1] ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, οἵ γε μακρὰν
10 ἀπεῖναι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπύθοντο. οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι
ὄρθρου βαθέος ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντες διαφθεῖραι μὲν
τὰς ἐκείνῃ θύρας ἢ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εἰσελθεῖν νύκτωρ
ἀξύμφορον σφίσιν ᾤοντο εἶναι, δείσαντες μὴ ἐς
νυκτομαχίαν ἐμπεπτωκότες αὐτοὶ μὲν σφᾶς αὐ-
τοὺς διαφθείρωσιν, ἔξοδον δὲ πλείστοις τῶν
πολεμίων[2] ἐν σκότῳ, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, παρέξωσιν.
11 ἔπρασσον δὲ ταῦτα τῆς δειλίας αὐτοῖς ἐκπλησ-
σούσης τὸν νοῦν, παρὸν σφίσιν οὐδενὶ πόνῳ
φέρουσί τε πυρὰ καὶ τούτων χωρὶς οὐχ ὅσον
ἀνόπλους, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυμνοὺς παντάπασι τοὺς
12 πολεμίους ἐπὶ τῶν στρωμάτων λαβεῖν. νῦν δὲ
ἀμφὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἅπασαν κύκλῳ καὶ διαφερόντως
τὰς θύρας φάλαγγα ποιησάμενοι ἔστησαν ἅπαν-
13 τες. ἐν τούτῳ δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ἑνὶ
ἐξ ὕπνου[3] ἀναστῆναι ξυνέβη, ὅσπερ τοῦ θορύβου
αἰσθόμενος ὃν δὴ οἱ Βανδίλοι φθεγγόμενοί τε ἐν
σφίσιν αὐτοῖς λάθρα ἐποίουν καὶ ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις
κινούμενοι, ξυμβαλεῖν τὸ ποιούμενον ἴσχυσε, καὶ
τῶν ἑταίρων ἀνεγείρας σιωπῇ ἕκαστον τὰ πρασ-
14 σόμενα φράζει. οἱ δὲ Διογένους γνώμῃ τά τε
ἱμάτια ἐνδιδύσκονται ἡσυχῇ ἅπαντες καὶ τὰ ὅπλα
15 ἀνελόμενοι κάτω ἐχώρουν. οὗ δὴ τοῖς ἵπποις
τοὺς χαλινοὺς ἐπιθέμενοι ἀναθρώσκουσιν ἐπ'
αὐτούς, οὐδενὶ αἴσθησιν παρεχόμενοι. παρά τε
τὴν αὔλειον χρόνον τινὰ στάντες ἀνακλίνουσι
μὲν ἐξαπιναίως τὰς ταύτῃ θύρας, ἐξίασι δὲ εὐθὺς
16 ἅπαντες. οἱ μὲν οὖν Βανδίλοι ἔργου ἤδη ἐπ' αὐτοὺς

[1] οὐδὲν PO : οὐδένα V.
[2] πλείστοις τῶν πολεμίων VO : τοῖς πολεμίοις P.
[3] ἐξ ὕπνου PO : ἐξύπνῳ V.

upper storey, having no thought of the enemy in mind, since, indeed, they had learned that their opponents were far away. But the Vandals, coming there at early dawn, thought it would not be to their advantage to destroy the doors of the house or to enter it in the dark, fearing lest, being involved in a night encounter, they might themselves destroy one another, and at the same time, if that should happen, provide a way of escape for a large number of the enemy in the darkness. But they did this because cowardice had paralyzed their minds, though it would have been possible for them with no trouble, by carrying torches or even without these, to catch their enemies in their beds not only without weapons, but absolutely naked besides. But as it was, they made a phalanx in a circle about the whole house and especially at the doors, and all took their stand there. But in the meantime it so happened that one of the Roman soldiers was roused from sleep, and he, noticing the noise which the Vandals made as they talked stealthily among themselves and moved with their weapons, was able to comprehend what was being done, and rousing each one of his comrades silently, he told them what was going on. And they, following the opinion of Diogenes, all put on their clothes quietly and taking up their weapons went below. There they put the bridles on their horses and leaped upon them unperceived by anyone. And after standing for a time by the court-yard entrance, they suddenly opened the door there, and straightway all came out. And then the Vandals immediately

εἴχοντο, ἤνυτον δὲ οὐδέν.[1] οἱ γὰρ Ῥωμαῖοι ταῖς
τε ἀσπίσι φραξάμενοι καὶ τοῖς δορατίοις ἀμυνό-
17 μενοι τοὺς ἐπιόντας σπουδῇ ἤλαυνον. οὕτω τε
Διογένης τοὺς πολεμίους διέφυγε, δύο μὲν τῶν
ἑπομένων ἀποβαλών, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς σώσας.
18 πληγὰς μέντοι ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς
ἔλαβεν ἐς μὲν τὸν αὐχένα καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τρεῖς,
ἀφ᾽ ὧν δὴ παρ᾽ ὀλίγον ἀποθανεῖν ἦλθε, κατὰ δὲ
χειρὸς τῆς λαιᾶς μίαν, ἐξ ἧς οὐκέτι τῶν δακτύλων
τὸν σμικρότατον ἐνεργεῖν ἴσχυσε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν
ὧδε γενέσθαι ξυνέβη.
19 Βελισάριος δὲ τοῖς τε περὶ τὴν οἰκοδομίαν
τεχνίταις καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ὁμίλῳ χρήματα μεγάλα
προτεινόμενος τάφρον τε λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίαν
ἀμφὶ τὸν περίβολον ὤρυξε κύκλῳ, καὶ σκόλοπας
αὐτῇ ἐνθέμενος συχνοὺς εὖ μάλα περιεσταύρωσε.
20 καὶ μὴν καὶ τὰ πεπονθότα τοῦ τείχους ἐν βραχεῖ
ἀνῳκοδομήσατο χρόνῳ, θαύματος ἄξιον οὐ Καρ-
χηδονίοις μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ Γελίμερι γεγονὸς
21 ὕστερον. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δορυάλωτος ἐς Καρχηδόνα
ἧκεν, ἠγάσθη τε ἰδὼν τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὴν ὀλιγωρίαν
τὴν αὑτοῦ πάντων οἱ ἔφη γεγονέναι τῶν παρόν-
των αἰτίαν. ταῦτα μὲν Βελισαρίῳ ἐν Καρχηδόνι
ὄντι κατείργαστο ὧδε.

XXIV

Τζάζων δέ, ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός, τῷ στόλῳ ᾧ ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται ἐς Σαρδὼ ἀφικόμενος ἐς τὸν Καρανάλεως λιμένα ἀπέβη, καὶ τὴν πόλιν αὐτο-

[1] ἤνυτον δὲ οὐδέν V : ἤνυον δὲ οὐδέν O, om. P.

closed with them, but they accomplished nothing. For the Romans rode hard, covering themselves with their shields and warding off their assailants with their spears. And in this way Diogenes escaped the enemy, losing two of his followers, but saving the rest. He himself, however, received three blows in this encounter on the neck and the face, from which indeed he came within a little of dying, and one blow also on the left hand, as a result of which he was thereafter unable to move his little finger. This, then, took place in this way.

And Belisarius offered great sums of money to the artisans engaged in the building trade and to the general throng of workmen, and by this means he dug a trench deserving of great admiration about the circuit-wall, and setting stakes close together along it he made an excellent stockade about the fortifications. And not only this, but he built up in a short time the portions of the wall which had suffered, a thing which seemed worthy of wonder not only to the Carthaginians, but also to Gelimer himself at a later time. For when he came as a captive to Carthage, he marvelled when he saw the wall and said that his own negligence had proved the cause of all his present troubles. This, then, was accomplished by Belisarius while in Carthage.

XXIV

But Tzazon, the brother of Gelimer, reached Sardinia with the expedition which has been mentioned above[1] and disembarked at the harbour of Caranalis[2]; and at the first onset he captured the

[1] Chap. xi. 23. [2] Cagliari.

βοεὶ εἶλε τόν τε τύραννον Γώδαν ἔκτεινε καὶ εἴ τι
2 ἀμφ' αὐτὸν μάχιμον ἦν. καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐς γῆν τὴν
Λιβύης τὸν βασιλέως στόλον ἤκουσεν εἶναι, οὔπω
τι πεπυσμένος ὧν ταύτῃ ἐπέπρακτο, γράφει πρὸς
3 Γελίμερα τάδε· "Γώδαν ἀπολωλέναι τὸν τύραννον,
ὑπὸ ταῖς ἡμετέραις γεγονότα χερσί, καὶ τὴν νῆσον
αὖθις ὑπὸ τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ εἶναι, ὦ Βανδίλων τε
καὶ Ἀλανῶν βασιλεῦ, ἴσθι καὶ τὴν ἐπινίκιον
4 ἑορτὴν ἄγε. τῶν δὲ πολεμίων οἳ ἐτόλμησαν ἐς
τὴν ἡμετέραν στρατεύεσθαι, ἔλπιζε τὴν πεῖραν ἐς
τοῦτο ἀφίξεσθαι τύχης, ἐς ὃ καὶ πρότερον τοῖς
ἐπὶ τοὺς προγόνους τοὺς ἡμετέρους στρατευσα-
5 μένοις ἐχώρησε." ταῦτα οἱ λαβόντες[1] τὰ γράμ-
ματα, οὐδὲν πολέμιον ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, κατέπλευσαν
6 ἐς τὸν τῶν Καρχηδονίων λιμένα. καὶ πρὸς τῶν
φυλάκων παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπαχθέντες τά τε
γράμματα ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ περὶ ὧν τὰς πύστεις
ἐποιεῖτο ἐσήγγελλον, οἷς τε ἐθεῶντο καταπεπληγ-
μένοι καὶ τεθηπότες τῆς μεταβολῆς τὸ αἰφνίδιον·
ἔπαθον μέντοι πρὸς Βελισαρίου οὐδὲν ἄχαρι.
7 Ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ ἕτερον ξυνηνέχθη
τοιόνδε. Γελίμερ ὀλίγῳ πρότερον ἢ ἐς Λιβύην ὁ
βασιλέως στόλος ἀφίκετο ἔπεμψε πρέσβεις ἐς
Ἱσπανίαν ἄλλους τε καὶ Γοτθαῖον καὶ Φουσκίαν,
ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Θεῦδιν, τὸν τῶν Οὐισιγότθων ἄρχοντα,
8 πείσουσιν ὁμαιχμίαν πρὸς Βανδίλους θέσθαι. οἵ,
ἐπεὶ ἀπέβησαν εἰς τὴν ἤπειρον, τὸν ἐν Γαδείροις
πορθμὸν διαβάντες, εὑρίσκουσι Θεῦδιν ἐν χωρίῳ
9 μακρὰν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης κειμένῳ. ἀναβάντας δὲ
παρ' αὐτὸν τοὺς πρέσβεις ὁ Θεῦδις φιλοφροσύνης
τε ἠξίωσε καὶ προθύμως εἱστία, ἔν τε τῇ θοίνῃ

[1] λαβόντες PO : λίβυες V

city and killed the tyrant Godas and all the fighting men about him. And when he heard that the emperor's expedition was in the land of Libya, having as yet learned nothing of what had been done there, he wrote to Gelimer as follows: "Know, O King of the Vandals and Alani, that the tyrant Godas has perished, having fallen into our hands, and that the island is again under thy kingdom, and celebrate the festival of triumph. And as for the enemy who have had the daring to march against our land, expect that their attempt will come to the same fate as that experienced by those who in former times marched against our ancestors." And those who took this letter sailed into the harbour of Carthage with no thought of the enemy in mind. And being brought by the guards before the general, they put the letter into his hands and gave him information on the matters about which he enquired, being thunderstruck at what they beheld and awed at the suddenness of the change; however, they suffered nothing unpleasant at the hand of Belisarius.

At this same time another event also occurred as follows. A short time before the emperor's expedition reached Libya, Gelimer had sent envoys into Spain, among whom were Gothaeus and Fuscias, in order to persuade Theudis, the ruler of the Visigoths,[1] to establish an alliance with the Vandals. And these envoys, upon disembarking on the mainland after crossing the strait at Gadira, found Theudis in a place situated far from the sea. And when they had come up to the place where he was, Theudis received them with friendliness and entertained them

[1] On this Theudis and his accession to the throne of the Visigoths in Spain see V. xii. 50 ff.

ἐπυνθάνετο δῆθεν ὅπῃ ποτὲ Γελίμερί τε καὶ
10 Βανδίλοις τὰ πράγματα ἔχοι. τούτων δὲ τῶν
πρέσβεων σχολαίτερον ἐς αὐτὸν ἰόντων ἔτυχεν
11 ἀκηκοὼς ἅπαντα ὅσα Βανδίλοις ξυνέπεσεν. ὁλκὰς
γὰρ μία ἐπ' ἐμπορίᾳ πλέουσα ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ
ᾗ τὸ στράτευμα εἰς Καρχηδόνα εἰσήλασεν, ἐν-
θένδε ἀναγομένη καὶ πνεύματος ἐπιφόρου ἐπι-
12 τυχοῦσα, ἐς Ἱσπανίαν ἦλθεν. ὅθεν δὴ ὁ Θεῦδις
μαθὼν ὅσα ἐν Λιβύῃ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι ἀπεῖπε
τοῖς ἐμπόροις μηδενὶ φράζειν, ὡς μὴ ταῦτα[1] ἔκ-
13 πυστα ἐς τὸ πᾶν γένηται. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίναντο
οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν Γοτθαῖον ἅπαντα σφίσιν ὡς ἄριστα
14 ἔχειν, ἠρώτα ὅτου ποτὲ ἕνεκα ἥκοιεν. τῶν δὲ τὴν
ὁμαιχμίαν προτεινομένων ἐκέλευεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεῦ-
δις εἰς τὴν παραλίαν ἰέναι· "Ἐνθένδε γάρ," ἔφη,
15 "τὰ οἴκοι πράγματα ἀσφαλῶς εἴσεσθε." οἱ δὲ
πρέσβεις οὐχ ὑγιᾶ τὸν λόγον εἶναι, ἅτε οἰνωμένου
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὑποτοπήσαντες, ἐν σιωπῇ ἔσχον.
16 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτῷ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ξυγγενόμενοι τὴν συμ-
μαχίαν ἐν λόγῳ ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ ῥήματι αὖθις τῷ
αὐτῷ ὁ Θεῦδις ἐχρῆτο, οὕτω δὴ ξυνέντες νεώτερα
σφίσιν ἐν Λιβύῃ ξυμπεσεῖν πράγματα, οὐδὲν
μέντοι ἀμφὶ Καρχηδόνι ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες, ἐς αὐτὴν
17 ἔπλεον. ἀγχοῦ τε αὐτῆς καταπλεύσαντες καὶ
Ῥωμαίοις στρατιώταις περιτυχόντες ἐνεχείρισαν
18 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅ τι βούλοιντο χρῆσθαι. ὅθεν ἐς
τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀπαχθέντες καὶ τὸν πάντα λόγον
ἀγγείλαντες ἔπαθον οὐδὲν πρὸς ἐκείνου κακόν.
19 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. Κύριλ-
λος δέ, Σαρδοῦς τε ἀγχοῦ γενόμενος καὶ τὰ τῷ

[1] ταῦτα VO : πάντα P.

heartily, and during the feast he pretended to enquire how matters stood with Gelimer and the Vandals. Now since these envoys had travelled to him rather slowly, it happened that he had heard from others everything which had befallen the Vandals. For one merchant ship sailing for trade had put out from Carthage on the very same day as the army marched into the city, and finding a favouring wind, had come to Spain. From those on this ship Theudis learned all that had happened in Libya, but he forbade the merchants to reveal it to anyone, in order that this might not become generally known. And when Gothaeus and his followers replied that everything was as well as possible for them, he asked them for what purpose, then, they had come. And when they proposed the alliance, Theudis bade them go to the sea-coast; "For from there," he said, "you will learn of the affairs at home with certainty." And the envoys, supposing that the man was in his cups and his words were not sane, remained silent. But when on the following day they met him and made mention of the alliance, and Theudis used the same words a second time, then at length they understood that some change of fortune had befallen them in Libya, but never once thinking of Carthage they sailed for the city. And upon coming to land close by it and happening upon Roman soldiers, they put themselves in their hands to do with them as they wished. And from there they were led away to the general, and reporting the whole story, they suffered no harm at his hand. These things, then, happened thus. And Cyril,[1] upon coming near to Sardinia and learning

[1] The leader of a band of *foederati*. Cf. III. xi. 1, 6, xxiv. 19.

Γώδᾳ ξυμπεσόντα ἀκούσας, ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει, ἔνθα τό τε Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα καὶ Βελισάριον εὑρὼν νενικηκότας ἡσύχαζε· καὶ Σολόμων παρὰ βασιλέα, ὅπως ἀγγείλῃ τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἐστέλλετο.

XXV

Γελίμερ δὲ ἐπεὶ ἐν πεδίῳ Βούλλης ἐγεγόνει, ὅπερ εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τεσσάρων ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνος διέχει, οὐ πολλῷ ἄποθεν τῶν Νουμιδίας ὁρίων, ἐνταῦθα Βανδίλους τε ξύμπαντας ἤγειρε καὶ εἴ τί οἱ φίλιον ἐν Μαυρουσίοις ἐτύγχανεν ὄν.
2 ὀλίγοι μέντοι Μαυρούσιοι αὐτῷ ἀφίκοντο ἐς ξυμ-
3 μαχίαν, καὶ οὗτοι παντάπασιν ἄναρχοι. ὅσοι γὰρ ἔν τε Μαυριτανίᾳ καὶ Νουμιδίᾳ καὶ Βυζακίῳ Μαυρουσίων ἦρχον, πρέσβεις ὡς Βελισάριον πέμψαντες δοῦλοί τε βασιλέως ἔφασκον εἶναι καὶ
4 ξυμμαχήσειν ὑπέσχοντο. εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ὁμήρων παρείχοντο λόγῳ, τά τε ξύμβολα σφίσι παρ' αὐτοῦ στέλλεσθαι[1] τῆς ἀρχῆς
5 κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ἐδέοντο. νόμος γὰρ ἦν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχειν μηδένα, κἂν Ῥωμαίοις πολέμιος ᾖ, πρὶν ἂν αὐτῷ τὰ γνωρίσματα τῆς
6 ἀρχῆς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς δοίη. ἅπερ ἤδη πρὸς Βανδίλων λαβόντες οὐκ ᾤοντο ἐν βεβαίῳ
7 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχειν. ἔστι δὲ τὰ ξύμβολα ταῦτα ῥάβδος τε ἀργυρᾶ κατακεχρυσωμένη καὶ πῖλος ἀργυροῦς οὐχ ὅλην τὴν κεφαλὴν σκέπων, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ στεφάνη τελαμῶσιν ἀργυροῖς πανταχόθεν ἀνεχόμενος, καὶ τριβώνιόν τι λευκὸν ἐς χρυσῆν

[1] στέλλεσθαι VP : πέμπεσθαι O.

what had happened to Godas, sailed to Carthage, and there, finding the Roman army and Belisarius victorious, he remained at rest; and Solomon[1] was sent to the emperor in order to announce what had been accomplished.

XXV

But Gelimer, upon reaching the plain of Boulla, which is distant from Carthage a journey of four days for an unencumbered traveller, not far from the boundaries of Numidia, began to gather there all the Vandals and as many of the Moors as happened to be friendly to him. Few Moors, however, joined his alliance, and these were altogether insubordinate. For all those who ruled over the Moors in Mauretania and Numidia and Byzacium sent envoys to Belisarius saying that they were slaves of the emperor and promised to fight with him. There were some also who even furnished their children as hostages and requested that the symbols of office be sent them from him according to the ancient custom. For it was a law among the Moors that no one should be a ruler over them, even if he was hostile to the Romans, until the emperor of the Romans should give him the tokens of the office. And though they had already received them from the Vandals, they did not consider that the Vandals held the office securely. Now these symbols are a staff of silver covered with gold, and a silver cap,—not covering the whole head, but like a crown and held in place on all sides by bands of silver,—a kind of white cloak gathered by a

[1] Also a *dux foederatorum*, and *domesticus* of Belisarius. Cf. III. xi. 5 ff.

περόνην κατὰ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον ἐν χλαμύδος σχήματι Θετταλῆς ξυνιόν, χιτών τε λευκὸς ποικίλ-
8 ματα ἔχων, καὶ ἀρβύλη ἐπίχρυσος. Βελισάριος δὲ ταῦτά τε αὐτοῖς ἔπεμψε καὶ χρήμασι πολλοῖς
9 αὐτῶν[1] ἕκαστον ἐδωρήσατο. οὐ μέντοι αὐτῷ ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἀφίκοντο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Βανδίλοις ἐπαμύνειν ἐτόλμησαν, ἀλλ' ἐκποδὼν ἀμφοτέροις στάντες ἐκαραδόκουν ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἡ τοῦ πολέμου τύχη ἐκβήσεται. ὧδε μὲν Ῥωμαίοις τὰ πράγματα εἶχε.

10 Γελίμερ δὲ τῶν τινα Βανδίλων ἐς Σαρδὼ ἔπεμψεν, ἐπιστολὴν πρὸς Τζάζωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἔχοντα. ὃς ἐς τὴν παραλίαν κατὰ τάχος ἐλθὼν ὁλκάδος τε ἀναγομένης ἐπιτυχών, ἐς Καρανάλεως τὸν λιμένα κατέπλευσε καὶ Τζάζωνι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἐνεχείρισεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ τάδε·

11 "Οὐκ ἦν, οἶμαι, Γώδας ὁ τὴν νῆσον ἡμῶν ἀποστήσας, ἀλλά τις ἄτη ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ἐς Βανδίλους
12 ἐπιπεσοῦσα. σέ τε γὰρ ἐξ ἡμῶν καὶ Βανδίλων τοὺς δοκίμους ἀφελομένη ἅπαντα συλλήβδην ἐκ
13 τοῦ Γιζερίχου οἴκου τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἥρπασεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνασώσασθαι τὴν νῆσον ἡμῖν ἐνθένδε ἀπῆρας, ἀλλ' ὅπως Λιβύης Ἰουστινιανὸς κύριος ἔσται. τὰ γὰρ τῇ τύχῃ δόξαντα πρότερον πάρεστι
14 τανῦν ἐκ τῶν ἀποβάντων εἰδέναι. Βελισάριος μὲν οὖν στρατῷ ὀλίγῳ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἧκει· ἡ δὲ ἀρετὴ ἐκ Βανδίλων ἀπιοῦσα εὐθὺς ᾤχετο, μεθ' ἑαυτῆς
15 λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀγαθὴν τύχην. Ἀμμάτας μὲν γὰρ καὶ Γιβαμοῦνδος πεπτώκασι, μαλθακιζομένων Βανδίλων, ἵπποι δὲ καὶ νεώρια καὶ ξύμπασα Λιβύη καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα αὐτὴ Καρχηδὼν ἔχονται

[1] αὐτῶν PO : αὐτὸν V.

golden brooch on the right shoulder in the form of a Thessalian cape, and a white tunic with embroidery, and a gilded boot. And Belisarius sent these things to them, and presented each one of them with much money. However, they did not come to fight along with him, nor, on the other hand, did they dare give their support to the Vandals, but standing out of the way of both contestants, they waited to see what would be the outcome of the war. Thus, then, matters stood with the Romans.

But Gelimer sent one of the Vandals to Sardinia with a letter to his brother Tzazon. And he went quickly to the coast, and finding by chance a merchant-ship putting out to sea, he sailed into the harbour of Caranalis and put the letter into the hands of Tzazon. Now the message of the letter was as follows:

"It was not, I venture to think, Godas who caused the island to revolt from us, but some curse of madness sent from Heaven which fell upon the Vandals. For by depriving us of you and the notables of the Vandals, it has seized and carried off from the house of Gizeric absolutely all the blessings which we enjoyed. For it was not to recover the island for us that you sailed from here, but in order that Justinian might be master of Libya. For that which Fortune had decided upon previously it is now possible to know from the outcome. Belisarius, then, has come against us with a small army, but valour straightway departed and fled from the Vandals, taking good fortune with her. For Ammatas and Gibamundus have fallen, because the Vandals lost their courage, and the horses and shipyards and all Libya and, not least of all, Carthage itself, are

16 ἤδη πρὸς[1] τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δὲ κάθηνται, τὸ μὴ ἐν τοῖς πόνοις ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι παίδων τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἀνταλλαξάμενοι καὶ πάντων χρημάτων, ἡμῖν τε ἀπολέλειπται μόνον τὸ Βούλλης πεδίον, οὗπερ ἡμᾶς ἡ εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐλπὶς καθίσασα εἴργει.
17 ἀλλὰ σὺ τυραννίδα τε καὶ Σαρδὼ καὶ τὰς περὶ ταῦτα φροντίδας ἐάσας ὅτι τάχιστα παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἧκε. οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν κεφαλαίων ὁ κίνδυνος, τἄλλα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι ἀξύμφορον.
18 κοινῇ δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀγωνιζόμενοι πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἢ τύχην τὴν προτέραν ἀνασωσόμεθα, ἢ κερδανοῦμεν τὸ μὴ ἀλλήλων χωρὶς τὰ ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου ἐνεγκεῖν δύσκολα."

19 Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Τζάζων εἶδέ τε ἀπενεχθέντα καὶ ἐς τοὺς Βανδίλους ἐξήνεγκεν, ἔς τε οἰμωγὰς καὶ ὀλοφύρσεις ἐτράποντο, οὐ μέντοι ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνι μάλιστα ἐγκρυφιάζοντές τε καὶ τοὺς νησιώτας λανθάνοντες σιωπῇ ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν τὰ
20 παρόντα σφίσιν ὠδύροντο. καὶ αὐτίκα μὲν τὰ ἐν ποσίν, ὥς πη ἔτυχε, διαθέμενοι τὰς ναῦς ἐπλήρουν.
21 ἄραντες δὲ ἐνθένδε παντὶ τῷ στόλῳ τριταῖοι κατέπλευσαν ἐς τὴν Λιβύης ἀκτὴν ἣ Νουμίδας τε
22 καὶ Μαυριτανοὺς διορίζει. καὶ πεζῇ βαδίζοντες ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς τὸ Βούλλης πεδίον, οὗ δὴ ἀνεμίγνυντο τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ. ἐνταῦθα συχνὰ ἐλέου πολλοῦ ἄξια Βανδίλοις ξυνέβη, ἅπερ ἔγωγε
23 οὐκ ἂν ἔτι φράσαι ἱκανῶς ἔχοιμι. οἶμαι γὰρ εἰ καὶ αὐτῶν πολεμίων ἀνδρὶ θεατῇ γενέσθαι τετύ-

[1] πρὸς VO: ὑπὸ P.

held already by the enemy. And the Vandals are sitting here, having paid with their children and wives and all their possessions for their failure to play the part of brave men in battle, and to us is left only the plain of Boulla, where our hope in you has set us down and still keeps us. But do you have done with such matters as rebel tyrants and Sardinia and the cares concerning these things, and come to us with your whole force as quickly as possible. For when men find the very heart and centre of all in danger, it is not advisable for them to consider minutely other matters. And struggling hereafter in common against the enemy, we shall either recover our previous fortune, or gain the advantage of not bearing apart from each other the hard fate sent by Heaven."

When this letter had been brought to Tzazon, and he had disclosed its contents to the Vandals, they turned to wailing and lamentation, not openly, however, but concealing their feelings as much as possible and avoiding the notice of the islanders, silently among themselves they bewailed the fate which was upon them. And straightway setting in order matters in hand just as chance directed, they manned the ships. And sailing from there with the whole fleet, on the third day they came to land at the point of Libya which marks the boundary between the Numidians and Mauretanians. And they reached the plain of Boulla travelling on foot, and there joined with the rest of the army. And in that place there were many most pitiable scenes among the Vandals, which I, at least, could never relate as they deserve. For I think that even if one of the enemy themselves had happened to be a

χηκε, τάχα ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς[1] Βανδίλους τε τότε καὶ
24 τύχην τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ᾠκτίσατο. ὅ τε γὰρ
Γελίμερ καὶ ὁ Τζάζων ἐπειδὴ ἀλλήλοιν τῷ
τραχήλῳ περιεβαλέσθην, μεθίεσθαι τὸ λοιπὸν
οὐδαμῇ εἶχον, οὐδὲν μέντοι ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐφθέγ-
γοντο, ἀλλὰ τὼ χεῖρε σφίγγοντες ἔκλαιον, καὶ
Βανδίλων τῶν ξὺν Γελίμερι ἕκαστος τῶν τινα ἐκ
Σαρδοῦς ἥκοντα περιβαλὼν κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἐποίει.
25 χρόνον τε συχνὸν ὥσπερ ἀλλήλοις ἐμπεφυκότες,
ἡδονῆς τῆς ἐνθένδε ἀπώναντο, καὶ οὔτε οἱ ἀμφὶ
Γελίμερα περὶ τοῦ Γώδα[2] (ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς ἡ παροῦσα
τύχη ἐκπλήξασα τὰ πρόσθεν σφίσι σπουδαιότατα
δόξαντα εἶναι τοῖς ἤδη ἐς ἄγαν ἀπημελημένοις[3]
ξυνέτασσεν) οὔτε οἱ ἐκ Σαρδοῦς ἥκοντες ἐρωτᾶν
τι ἠξίουν ἀμφὶ τοῖς ἔν γε Λιβύῃ ξυνενεχθεῖσιν.
ἱκανὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὁ χῶρος τεκμηριῶσαι τὰ
26 ξυμπεσόντα ἐγίνετο. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ γυναικῶν ἢ
παίδων ἰδίων[4] λόγον ἐποιοῦντό τινα, ἐξεπιστά-
μενοι ὡς, ἤν τις αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα οὐκ εἴη, δῆλον
ὅτι ἢ ἐτελεύτα ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ταῖς χερσὶ
γέγονε. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταύτῃ πῃ ἔσχεν.

[1] αὐτὸς VP : αὐτοὺς O.
[2] περὶ τοῦ Γώδα Dindorf : περί τε τῶ γώδα MSS.
[3] ἀπημελημένοις VP : ἠτημελημένοις O.
[4] ἢ παίδων ἰδίων VO : ἰδίων ἢ παίδων P.

spectator at that time, he would probably have felt pity, in spite of himself, for the Vandals and for human fortune. For Gelimer and Tzazon threw their arms about each other's necks, and could not let go, but they spoke not a word to each other, but kept wringing their hands and weeping, and each one of the Vandals with Gelimer embraced one of those who had come from Sardinia, and did the same thing. And they stood for a long time as if grown together and found such comfort as they could in this, and neither did the men of Gelimer think fit to ask about Godas (for their present fortune had prostrated them and caused them to reckon such things as had previously seemed to them most important with those which were now utterly negligible), nor could those who came from Sardinia bring themselves to ask about what had happened in Libya. For the place was sufficient to permit them to judge of what had come to pass. And indeed they did not make any mention even of their own wives and children, knowing well that whoever of theirs was not there had either died or fallen into the hands of the enemy. Thus, then, did these things happen.

HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK IV

THE VANDALIC WAR (*Continued*)

ΥΠΕΡ ΤΩΝ ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΣ

I

Γελίμερ δέ, ἐπεὶ Βανδίλους ἅπαντας ἐς ταὐτὸ[1]
εἶδεν ἀγηγερμένους, ἐπῆγεν ἐς Καρχηδόνα τὸ
2 στράτευμα. γενόμενοί τε αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα τόν τε
ὀχετὸν ἀξιοθέατον ὄντα διεῖλον, ὃς ἐς τὴν πόλιν
ἐσῆγε τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ χρόνον τινὰ ἐνστρατοπεδευσά-
μενοι ὑπεχώρησαν, ὡς οὐδεὶς σφίσιν ἐπεξῄει τῶν
3 πολεμίων. περιιόντες δὲ τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία τάς
τε ὁδοὺς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιοῦντο καὶ Καρχηδόνα
πολιορκεῖν ταύτῃ ᾤοντο, οὐ μὴν οὔτε ἐληίζοντο
οὐδὲν οὔτε τὴν γῆν ἐδῄουν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς οἰκείας μετε-
4 ποιοῦντο. ἅμα δὲ καὶ προδοσίαν τινὰ ἔσεσθαι
σφίσιν ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶχον Καρχηδονίων τε αὐτῶν
καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν ὅσοις ἡ τοῦ Ἀρείου
5 δόξα ἤσκητο. πέμψαντες δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Οὔννων
τοὺς ἄρχοντας, καὶ πολλὰ ἔσεσθαι αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ
πρὸς Βανδίλων ὑποσχόμενοι, ἐδέοντο φίλους τε
6 καὶ ξυμμάχους γενέσθαι σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ οὐδὲ
πρότερον εὐνοϊκῶς ἐς τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα
ἔχοντες ἅτε οὐδὲ ξύμμαχοι αὐτοῖς ἑκούσιοι ἥκοντες
(ἔφασκον γὰρ τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν Πέτρον
ὀμωμοκότα τε καὶ τὰ ὀμωμοσμένα ἠλογηκότα

[1] ἐς ταὐτὸ PO: ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ V.

HISTORY OF THE WARS: BOOK IV

THE VANDALIC WAR (*continued*)

I

Gelimer, seeing all the Vandals gathered together, led his army against Carthage. And when they came close to it, they tore down a portion of the aqueduct,—a structure well worth seeing—which conducted water into the city, and after encamping for a time they withdrew, since no one of the enemy came out against them. And going about the country there they kept the roads under guard and thought that in this way they were besieging Carthage; however, they did not gather any booty, nor plunder the land, but took possession of it as their own. And at the same time they kept hoping that there would be some treason on the part of the Carthaginians themselves and such of the Roman soldiers as followed the doctrine of Arius. They also sent to the leaders of the Huns, and promising that they would have many good things from the Vandals, entreated them to become their friends and allies. Now the Huns even before this had not been well-disposed toward the cause of the Romans, since they had not indeed come to them willingly as allies (for they asserted that the Roman general Peter had given an oath and then, disregarding what had been sworn, had thus

οὕτω δὴ σφᾶς ἀπαγαγεῖν ἐς τὸ Βυζάντιον), λόγους τε τοὺς Βανδίλων ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ ὡμολόγουν, ἐπειδὰν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται, ξὺν αὐτοῖς
7 ἐπὶ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα τρέψεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ ἅπαντα Βελισάριος ἐν ὑποψίᾳ ἔχων (ἠκηκόει γὰρ πρὸς τῶν αὐτομόλων, ἅμα δὲ καὶ ὁ περίβολος οὔπω ἐτετέλεστο ἅπας) ἐξιτητὰ μὲν σφίσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὐκ ᾤετο εἶναι, τὰ
8 δὲ ἔνδον[1] ὡς ἄριστα ἐξηρτύετο. καὶ Καρχηδόνιον μέν τινα, ὄνομα Λαῦρον, ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τε ἡλωκότα καὶ πρὸς τοῦ οἰκείου γραμματέως ἐληλεγμένον ἀνεσκολόπισεν ἐν λόφῳ τινὶ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς δέος τι ἄμαχον οἱ ἄλλοι καταστάντες
9 τῆς ἐς τὴν προδοσίαν πείρας ἀπέσχοντο. τοὺς δὲ Μασσαγέτας δώροις τε καὶ τραπέζῃ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ θωπείᾳ μετιὼν ἡμέρᾳ ἑκάστῃ ἐξενεγκεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔπεισεν[2] ὅσα αὐτοῖς ὁ Γελίμερ ὑποσχόμενος εἴη,[3]
10 ἐφ' ᾧ ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ κακοὶ γένωνται. ἔφασκον δὲ οἱ βάρβαροι οὗτοι οὐδεμίαν σφίσι προθυμίαν ἐς τὸ μάχεσθαι εἶναι· δεδιέναι γὰρ μὴ Βανδίλων ἡσσημένων οὐκ ἀποπέμψονται Ῥωμαῖοι σφᾶς ἐς τὰ πάτρια ἤθη, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἀναγκάζοιντο ἐν Λιβύῃ γηράσκοντες θνήσκειν· καὶ μὴν καὶ περὶ τῇ λείᾳ, μὴ ἀφαιρεθῶσιν αὐτήν, ἐν φροντίδι εἶναι.
11 τότε δὴ οὖν αὐτοῖς Βελισάριος πιστὰ ἔδωκεν ὡς, ἢν κατὰ κράτος Βανδίλοι ἡσσηθεῖεν, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα ξὺν πᾶσι λαφύροις σταλήσονται, οὕτω τε αὐτοὺς ὅρκοις καταλαμβάνει ἦ μὴν πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ ξυνδιενεγκεῖν σφίσι τὸν πόλεμον.

[1] ἔνδον VO : ἔνδοθεν P. [2] ἔπεισεν VP : ἐποίησεν O. [3] εἴη VP : ἦν O.

brought them to Byzantium), and accordingly they received the words of the Vandals, and promised that when they should come to real fighting they would turn with them against the Roman army. But Belisarius had a suspicion of all this (for he had heard it from the deserters), and also the circuit-wall had not as yet been completed entirely, and for these reasons he did not think it possible for his men to go out against the enemy for the present, but he was making his preparations within as well as possible. And one of the Carthaginians, Laurus by name, having been condemned on a charge of treason and proved guilty by his own secretary, was impaled by Belisarius on a hill before the city, and as a result of this the others came to feel a sort of irresistible fear and refrained from attempts at treason. And he courted the Massagetae with gifts and banquets and every other manner of flattering attention every day, and thus persuaded them to disclose to him what Gelimer had promised them on condition of their turning traitors in the battle. And these barbarians said that they had no enthusiasm for fighting, for they feared that, if the Vandals were vanquished, the Romans would not send them back to their native land, but they would be compelled to grow old and die right there in Libya; and besides they were also concerned, they said, about the booty, lest they be robbed of it. Then indeed Belisarius gave them pledges that, if the Vandals should be conquered decisively, they would be sent without the least delay to their homes with all their booty, and thus he bound them by oaths in very truth to assist the Romans with all zeal in carrying through the war.

12 Ἐπειδή τε ἅπαντά οἱ ὡς ἄριστα παρεσκεύαστο καὶ ὁ περίβολος ἤδη ἀπείργαστο, ξυγκαλέσας
13 ἅπαν τὸ στράτευμα ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Παραίνεσιν μέν, ἄνδρες Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅτι δεῖ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οἵ γε οὕτω τοὺς πολεμίους ἔναγχος νενικήκατε ὥστε Καρχηδών τε ἥδε καὶ Λιβύη ξύμπασα κτῆμα τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀρετῆς ἐστι, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ ξυμβουλῆς οὐδεμιᾶς ὑμῖν ἐς εὐτολμίαν ὁρμώσης δεήσει. τῶν γὰρ νενικηκότων ἥκιστα
14 ἐλασσοῦσθαι φιλοῦσιν αἱ γνῶμαι. ἐκεῖνο δὲ μόνον ὑπομνῆσαι ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἀπὸ καιροῦ οἴομαι εἶναι, ὡς, ἢν ὁμοίως ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζοισθε, αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὸ πέρας ἕξει τοῖς μὲν Βανδίλοις τὰ τῆς ἐλπίδος, ὑμῖν δὲ ἡ
15 μάχη. ὥστε ὑμᾶς ὡς προθυμότατα εἰκὸς ἐς ξυμβολὴν τήνδε καθίστασθαι. ἡδὺς γὰρ ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπολήγων τε καὶ εἰς καταστροφὴν βαδίζων[1] ὁ πόνος. τὸν μὲν οὖν τῶν Βανδίλων
16 ὅμιλον ὑμῶν διαλογιζέσθω μηδείς. οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων πλήθει οὐδὲ σωμάτων μέτρῳ, ἀλλὰ ψυχῶν ἀρετῇ φιλεῖ ὁ πόλεμος διακρίνεσθαι. εἰσίτω δὲ ὑμᾶς τὸ πάντων ἰσχυρότατον τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, ἡ ἐπὶ τοῖς πρασσομένοις αἰδώς.
17 αἰσχύνη γὰρ τοῖς γε νοῦν ἔχουσι τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἡσσᾶσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρετῆς ἐλάσσους ὀφθῆναι. τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους εὖ οἶδα ὅτι ὀρρωδία τε καὶ κακῶν μνήμη περιλαβοῦσαι ἀναγκάζουσι[2] κακίους γενέσθαι, ἡ μὲν τοῖς φθάσασι δεδιττομένη, ἡ δὲ ἀνασοβοῦσα τὴν τοῦ κατορθώσειν ἐλπίδα.
18 τύχη γὰρ εὐθὺς μοχθηρὰ ὀφθεῖσα δουλοῖ τῶν

[1] βαδίζων VO : ἐγγίζων P.
[2] ἀναγκάζουσι V : ἀναγκάσουσι PO.

And when all things had been prepared by him in the best way possible, and the circuit-wall had been already completed, he called together the whole army and spoke as follows: "As for exhortation, fellow Romans, I do not know that it is necessary to make any to you,—men who have recently conquered the enemy so completely that Carthage here and the whole of Libya is a possession of your valour, and for this reason you will have no need of admonition that prompts to daring. For the spirits of those who have conquered are by no means wont to be overcome. But I think it not untimely to remind you of this one thing, that, if you on the present occasion but prove equal to your own selves in valour, straightway there will be an end for the Vandals of their hopes, and for you of the battle. Hence there is every reason why you should enter into this engagement with the greatest eagerness. For ever sweet to men is toil coming to an end and reaching its close. Now as for the host of the Vandals, let no one of you consider them. For not by numbers of men nor by measure of body, but by valour of soul, is war wont to be decided. And let the strongest motive which actuates men come to your minds, namely, pride in past achievement. For it is a shame, for those at least who have reason, to fall short of one's own self and to be found inferior to one's own standard of valour. For I know well that terror and the memory of misfortunes have laid hold upon the enemy and compel them to become less brave, for the one fills them with fear because of what has already happened, and the other brushes aside their hope of success. For Fortune, once seen to be bad, straightway enslaves the spirit of those

αὐτῇ περιπεπτωκότων τὸ φρόνημα. ὡς δὲ νῦν
ἡμῖν[1] ἢ πρότερον ὑπὲρ μειζόνων ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν
19 ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ τῶν
πραγμάτων ἡμῖν[2] οὐκ εὖ προϊόντων ἐν τῷ μὴ τὴν
ἀλλοτρίαν λαβεῖν ὁ κίνδυνος ἦν, νῦν δέ, ἢν μὴ
τῶν ἀγώνων κρατήσωμεν, τὴν ἡμετέραν ἀπο-
20 βαλοῦμεν. ὅσῳ τοίνυν τὸ κεκτῆσθαι μηδὲν τοῦ
τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐστερῆσθαι κουφότερον, τοσούτῳ
νῦν μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ὁ
21 φόβος. καίτοι πρότερον τῶν πεζῶν ἡμῖν ἀπολε-
λειμμένων τὴν νίκην ἀνελέσθαι τετύχηκε, νῦν δὲ
ἵλεῴ τε τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐς τὴν
ξυμβολὴν καθιστάμενος κρατήσειν τοῦ στρατο-
πέδου τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἐλπίδα ἔχω.
22 πρόχειρον οὖν ἔχοντες τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας μή
τινι ὀλιγωρίᾳ ἐς ἄλλον αὐτὸ ἀπόθησθε χρόνον, μὴ
παραδραμόντα τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιζητεῖν ἀναγκάζησθε.
23 ἀναβαλλομένη γὰρ ἡ τοῦ πολέμου τύχη οὐχ
ὁμοίως τοῖς καθεστῶσι χωρεῖν πέφυκεν, ἄλλως τε
ἢν καὶ γνώμῃ τῶν αὐτὸν[3] διαφερόντων μηκύνηται.
24 τοῖς γὰρ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν εὐημερίαν προϊεμένοις
τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀεὶ νεμεσᾶν εἴωθεν. εἰ δέ τις ἐννοεῖ
τοὺς πολεμίους, παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ
τιμιώτατα ὑπὸ ταῖς ἡμετέραις ὁρῶντας χερσί,
τολμήσειν μὲν παρὰ γνώμην, κινδυνεύσειν δὲ
παρὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς δύναμιν, οὐκ ὀρθῶς
25 οἴεται. θυμὸς γὰρ ὑπεράγαν ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς
ὑπὲρ τῶν τιμιωτάτων φυόμενος τήν τε οὖσαν

[1] ἡμῖν P : ὑμῖν VO.
[2] ἡμῖν VPO pr. m. : ὑμῖν O pr. m. corr.
[3] αὐτὸν Haury : om. V, αὐτῶν P pr. m. corr. and O, αὐτὴ P pr. m.

who have fallen in her way. And I shall explain how the struggle involves for you at the present time a greater stake than formerly. For in the former battle the danger was, if things did not go well for us, that we should not take the land of others; but now, if we do not win the struggle, we shall lose the land which is our own. In proportion, then, as it is easier to possess nothing than to be deprived of what one has, just so now our fear touches our most vital concerns more than before. And yet formerly we had the fortune to win the victory with the infantry absent, but now, entering the battle with God propitious and with our whole army, I have hopes of capturing the camp of the enemy, men and all. Thus, then, having the end of the war ready at hand, do not by reason of any negligence put it off to another time, lest you be compelled to seek for the opportune moment after it has run past us. For when the fortune of war is postponed, its nature is not to proceed in the same manner as before, especially if the war be prolonged by the will of those who are carrying it on. For Heaven is accustomed to bring retribution always upon those who abandon the good fortune which is present. But if anyone considers that the enemy, seeing their children and wives and most precious possessions in our hands, will be daring beyond reason and will incur risks beyond the strength which they have, he does not think rightly. For an overpowering passion springing up in the heart in behalf of what is most precious is wont to diminish men's actual strength

ἰσχὺν καθαιρεῖν εἴωθε καὶ τοῖς καθεστῶσιν οὐκ ἐᾷ χρῆσθαι· ἃ δὴ πάντα λογιζομένους ὑμᾶς πολλῷ τῷ καταφρονήματι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι προσήκει."

II

Τοσαῦτα Βελισάριος παρακελευσάμενος ἱππέας μὲν ἅπαντας, πλὴν πεντακοσίων, ἡμέρᾳ τῇ αὐτῇ ἔστειλε, τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ τὸ σημεῖον, ὃ δὴ βάνδον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰωάννῃ ἐπιτρέψας τῷ Ἀρμενίῳ καὶ ἀκροβολίσασθαι ἐπιστείλας, ἢν
2 καιρὸς γένηται. αὐτὸς δὲ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ξὺν τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ καὶ τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν
3 εἵπετο. τοῖς δὲ Μασσαγέταις, βουλευσαμένοις ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, ἔδοξεν, ὅπως δὴ εὐσυνθετεῖν πρός τε Γελίμερα καὶ Βελισάριον δόξωσι, μήτε μάχης ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων ἄρξαι μήτε πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου ἐς Βανδίλους ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ὁποτέρας στρατιᾶς τὰ πράγματα πονηρὰ εἴη, τηνικαῦτα ξὺν τοῖς νικῶσι τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡσσωμένους ποιήσασθαι.[1] ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τοῖς βαρβάροις
4 ἐδέδοκτο τῇδε. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς κατέλαβε τοὺς Βανδίλους ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ στρατοπεδεύσαντας, τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν σταδίους Καρχη-
5 δόνος ἀπέχοντι. ἔνθα δὴ μακράν που ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ηὐλίσαντο ἑκάτεροι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, τέρας ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ[2]
6 ἐγεγόνει τοιόνδε. τῶν δοράτων αὐτοῖς τὰ ἄκρα πυρὶ πολλῷ κατελάμπετο καὶ αὐτῶν αἱ αἰχμαὶ

[1] ποιήσασθαι VP : ἀποφήνασθαι O.
[2] στρατοπέδῳ VP : στρατῷ O and Theophanes.

and does not allow them to make full use of their present opportunities. Considering, then, all these things, it behooves you to go with great contempt against the enemy."

II

After such words of exhortation, Belisarius sent out all the horsemen on the same day, except five hundred, and also the guardsmen and the standard, which the Romans call "bandum,"[1] entrusting them to John the Armenian, and directing him to skirmish only, if opportunity should arise. And he himself on the following day followed with the infantry forces and the five hundred horsemen. And the Massagetae, deliberating among themselves, decided, in order to seem in friendly agreement with both Gelimer and Belisarius, neither to begin fighting for the Romans nor to go over to the Vandals before the encounter, but whenever the situation of one or the other army should be bad, then to join the victors in their pursuit of the vanquished. Thus, then, had this matter been decided upon by the barbarians. And the Roman army came upon the Vandals encamped in Tricamarum, one hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. So they both bivouacked there at a considerable distance from one another. And when it was well on in the night, a prodigy came to pass in the Roman camp as follows. The tips of their spears were lighted with a bright fire and the points

[1] The *vexillum praetorium* carried by the cavalry of the imperial guard, IV. x. 4 below; cf. Lat. *pannum*.

καίεσθαι ἐπὶ πλεῖστον σφίσιν ἐδόκουν. τοῦτο οὐ
πολλοῖς μὲν φανερὸν γέγονεν, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς
θεασαμένους κατέπληξεν, οὐκ εἰδότας ὅπῃ ἐκβή-
7 σεται. ξυνέπεσε δὲ Ῥωμαίοις τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις
ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ χρόνῳ πολλῷ ὕστερον. ὅτε δὴ αὐτὸ
καὶ νίκης ξύμβολον ἅτε πείρᾳ εἰδότες ἐπίστευον
εἶναι. τότε δέ, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐπεὶ πρῶτον ἐγε-
γόνει, κατεπλάγησάν τε καὶ ξὺν δέει πολλῷ
ἐνυκτέρευσαν.

8 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ Γελίμερ Βανδίλους ἐκέλευε
παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ πάντα χρήματα ἐν
μέσῳ καταθέσθαι τῷ χαρακώματι, καίπερ ὀχύ-
ρωμα οὐδὲν ἔχοντι, καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε
9 τοιάδε· "Οὐχ[1] ὑπὲρ δόξης ἡμῖν, ἄνδρες Βανδίλοι,
οὐδὲ[2] ἀρχῆς στερήσεως μόνον ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν, ὥστε
κἂν ἐθελοκακήσασι καὶ ταῦτα προεμένοις δυνατὸν
εἶναι βιοῦν, οἴκοι τε καθημένοις καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερα
10 αὐτῶν ἔχουσιν· ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε δήπουθεν ὡς ἐς τοῦτο
ἡμῖν περιέστηκε τύχης τὰ πράγματα ὥστε, ἣν[3]
μὴ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσωμεν, τελευτῶντες μὲν
κυρίους αὐτοὺς καταλείψομεν παίδων τῶνδε καὶ
γυναικῶν καὶ χώρας καὶ πάντων χρημάτων,
περιοῦσι δὲ ἡμῖν προσέσται τὸ δούλοις τε εἶναι
11 καὶ ταῦτα ἐπιδεῖν ἅπαντα· ἢν δέ γε περιεσώμεθα
τῷ πολέμῳ τῶν δυσμενῶν, καὶ ζῶντες ἐν πᾶσιν[4]
ἀγαθοῖς βιοτεύσομεν καὶ μετὰ τὴν εὐπρεπῆ τοῦ
βίου καταστροφὴν παισὶ μὲν καὶ γυναιξὶ τὰ τῆς
εὐδαιμονίας ἀπολελείψεται, τῷ δὲ τῶν Βανδίλων
ὀνόματι τὸ περιεῖναί τε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διασώ-
12 σασθαι. εἰ γάρ τισι καὶ ἄλλοις πώποτε ὑπὲρ

[1] οὐχ MSS. : οὐθ' Dindorf. [2] οὐδὲ Christ : οὔτε MSS.
[3] ἣν P : εἰ VO. [4] πᾶσιν VO : πᾶσι τοῖς P.

of them seemed to be burning most vigorously. This was not seen by many, but it filled with consternation the few who did see it, not knowing how it would come out. And this happened to the Romans in Italy again at a much later time. And at that time, since they knew by experience, they believed it to be a sign of victory. But now, as I have said, since this was the first time it had happened, they were filled with consternation and passed the night in great fear.

And on the following day Gelimer commanded the Vandals to place the women and children and all their possessions in the middle of the stockade, although it had not the character of a fort, and calling all together, he spoke as follows: "It is not to gain glory, or to retrieve the loss of empire alone, O fellow Vandals, that we are about to fight, so that even if we wilfully played the coward and sacrificed these our belongings we might possibly live, sitting at home and keeping our own possessions; but you see, surely, that our fortunes have come round to such a pass that, if we do not gain the mastery over the enemy, we shall, if we perish, leave them as masters of these our children and our wives and our land and all our possessions, while if we survive, there will be added our own enslavement and to behold all these enslaved; but if, indeed, we overcome our foes in the war, we shall, if we live, pass our lives among all good things, or, after the glorious ending of our lives, there will be left to our wives and children the blessings of prosperity, while the name of the Vandals will survive and their empire be preserved. For if it has ever

τῶν ὅλων τετύχηκεν ἀγωνίζεσθαι, καὶ αὐτοὶ νῦν
μάλιστα πάντων γινώσκομεν ὡς τὰς ὑπὲρ ἀπάν-
των ἐλπίδας ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς φέροντες ἐς τὴν
13 παράταξιν καθιστάμεθα. οὐκ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασι
τοίνυν τοῖς ἡμετέροις ὁ φόβος οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῷ
θνήσκειν ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ' ὥστε μὴ τῶν πολεμίων
ἡσσῆσθαι. τῆς γὰρ νίκης ἀπολελειμμένοις[1] τὸ
14 τεθνάναι ξυνοίσει. ὅτε τοίνυν ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχει,
μαλακιζέσθω Βανδίλων μηδείς, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν
φρονήματι προϊέσθω τὸ σῶμα, αἰσχύνῃ δὲ τῶν
μετὰ τὴν ἧτταν κακῶν ζηλούτω τὴν τοῦ βίου
15 καταστροφήν. τῷ γὰρ τὰ αἰσχρὰ αἰσχυνομένῳ
πάρεστιν ἀεὶ τὸ μὴ δεδιέναι τὸν κίνδυνον. μάχης
δὲ τῆς πρότερον γεγενημένης μηδεμία ὑμᾶς εἰσίτω
16 μνήμη. οὐ γὰρ κακίᾳ ἡμετέρᾳ ἡσσήθημεν, ἀλλὰ
τύχης ἐναντιώμασι προσεπταικότες ἐσφάλημεν.
ταύτης δὲ τὸ ῥεῦμα οὐκ ἀεὶ κατὰ ταὐτὰ φέρεσθαι
πέφυκεν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἑκάστῃ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
17 μεταπίπτειν φιλεῖ. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρείῳ τοὺς πολε-
μίους ὑπεραίρειν αὐχοῦμεν καὶ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ
18 ὑπερβάλλεσθαι· μέτρῳ γὰρ αὐτῶν περιεῖναι οὐχ
ἧσσον ἢ δεκαπλασίῳ οἰόμεθα. καὶ τί[2] προσθήσω
πολλά τε καὶ μεγάλα εἶναι τὰ νῦν μάλιστα ἡμᾶς
ἐς ἀρετὴν ὁρμῶντα, τήν τε τῶν προγόνων δόξαν
καὶ τὴν παραδοθεῖσαν ἡμῖν ὑπ' ἐκείνων ἀρχήν;
19 ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐφ' ἡμῖν τῷ ἀνομοίῳ τοῦ ξυγγενοῦς
ἐγκαλύπτεται,[3] ἡ δὲ ὡς ἀναξίους ἡμᾶς ἀποφυγεῖν
20 ἰσχυρίζεται. καὶ σιωπῶ τούτων τῶν γυναίων
τὰς οἰμωγὰς καὶ τῶν παίδων τῶν ἡμετέρων τὰ

[1] ἀπολελειμμένοις Herwerden: ἀπολελειμμένης VP, ἐπιλελειμμένοις O. [2] τί added by Capps (or οὐ).
[3] ἐγκαλύπτεται PO: ἐγκαταλέλειπται V.

happened to any men to be engaged in a struggle for their all, we now more than all others realize that we are entering the battle-line with our hopes for all we have resting wholly upon ourselves. Not for our bodies, then, is our fear, nor in death is our danger, but in being defeated by the enemy. For if we lose the victory, death will be to our advantage. Since, therefore, the case stands so, let no one of the Vandals weaken, but let him proudly expose his body, and from shame at the evils that follow defeat let him court the end of life. For when a man is ashamed of that which is shameful, there is always present with him a dauntless courage in the face of danger. And let no recollection of the earlier battle come into your minds. For it was not by cowardice on our part that we were defeated, but we tripped upon obstacles interposed by fortune and were overthrown. Now it is not the way of the tide of fortune to flow always in the same direction, but every day, as a rule, it is wont to change about. In manliness it is our boast that we surpass the enemy, and that in numbers we are much superior; for we believe that we surpass them no less than tenfold. And why shall I add that many and great are the incentives which, now especially, urge us on to valour, naming the glory of our ancestors and the empire which has been handed down to us by them? For in our case that glory is obscured by our unlikeness to our kindred, while the empire is bent upon fleeing from us as unworthy. And I pass over in silence the wails of these poor women and the tears of our children,

δάκρυα, οἷς νῦν, ὡς ὁρᾶτε, περιαλγήσας μηκῦναι
21 τὸν λόγον οὐ δύναμαι. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μόνον εἰπὼν
παύσομαι, ὡς ἐπάνοδος ἡμῖν εἰς τὰ φίλτατα
ταῦτα οὐκ ἔσται μὴ τῶν πολεμίων κρατήσασιν.
22 ὧν ἐνθυμηθέντες ἄνδρες τε ἀγαθοὶ γίγνεσθε καὶ
μὴ καταισχύνητε τὴν Γιζερίχου δόξαν."
23 Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν Γελίμερ Τζάζωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν
ἐκέλευσε Βανδίλοις τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐκ Σαρδοῦς
24 ἥκουσι παραίνεσιν ἰδίᾳ ποιεῖσθαι. ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς
ξυναγείρας μικρὸν ἄποθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἔλεξε
τοιάδε· "Βανδίλοις μὲν ἅπασιν, ἄνδρες συστρα-
τιῶται, ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν ὧν δὴ ἀρτίως
λέγοντος τοῦ βασιλέως ἠκούσατε, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς
τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἁμιλ-
25 λᾶσθαι ξυμβαίνει. νενικήκατε γὰρ ἔναγχος ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀνεκ-
τήσασθε τῇ Βανδίλων ἀρχῇ· ὑμᾶς οὖν[1] μείζω
26 ποιεῖσθαι εἰκὸς τῆς ἀρετῆς τὴν ἐπίδειξιν. οἷς γὰρ
ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ὁ κίνδυνος, μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ
τὴν ἐς τὸ πολεμεῖν[2] προθυμίαν ἀνάγκη. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀγωνιζόμενοι ἡσσηθέντες,
ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐσφά-
27 λησαν· οἷς δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ἡ μάχη, πάντως ὁ
βίος πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πολέμου ῥυθμίζεται πέρας.
ἄλλως τε, ἢν μὲν ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι
γένησθε, βεβαιοῦτε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀρετῆς ἔργον τὴν
τοῦ τυράννου Γώδα γεγονέναι καθαίρεσιν· μα-

[1] ὑμᾶς οὖν V : ὥστε ὑμᾶς νῦν P, ὥστε ἡμᾶς νῦν O.
[2] τὸ πολεμεῖν VO : τοὺς πολεμίους P.

by which, as you see, I am now so deeply moved that I am unable to prolong my discourse. But having said this one thing, I shall stop,—that there will be for us no returning to these most precious possessions if we do not gain the mastery over the enemy. Remembering these things, shew yourselves brave men and do not bring shame upon the fame of Gizeric."

After speaking such words, Gelimer commanded his brother Tzazon to deliver an exhortation separately to the Vandals who had come with him from Sardinia. And he gathered them together a little apart from the camp and spoke as follows: "For all the Vandals, fellow soldiers, the struggle is in behalf of those things which you have just heard the king recount, but for you, in addition to all the other considerations, it so happens that you are vying with yourselves. For you have recently been victorious in a struggle for the maintenance of our rule, and you have recovered the island for the empire of the Vandals; there is every reason, therefore, for you to make still greater display of your valour. For those whose hazard involves the greatest things must needs display the greatest zeal for warfare also. Indeed, when men who struggle for the maintenance of their rule are defeated, should it so happen, they have not failed in the most vital part; but when men are engaged in battle for their all, surely their very lives are influenced by the outcome of the struggle. And for the rest, if you shew yourselves brave men at the present time, you will thereby prove with certainty that the destruction[1] of the tyrant Godas was an achievement of valour on your part; but if

[1] See III. xxiv. 1.

λακισθέντες δὲ νῦν καὶ τῆς ἐπ' ἐκείνοις εὐδοξίας
28 ὡς οὐδὲν ὑμῖν προσηκούσης στερήσεσθε. καίτοι
καὶ ἄλλως ὑμᾶς γε εἰκὸς τῶν λοιπῶν Βανδίλων
29 ἐν ταύτῃ πλεονεκτεῖν τῇ μάχῃ. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ
σφαλέντας ἡ προλαβοῦσα τύχη ἐκπλήσσει, οἱ δὲ
οὐδὲν ἐπταικότες μετ' ἀκραιφνοῦς τοῦ θάρσους ἐς
30 τὸν ἀγῶνα καθίστανται. κἀκεῖνο δὲ οἶμαι οὐκ
ἀπὸ τρόπου εἰρήσεται, ὡς ἢν τῶν πολεμίων
κρατήσωμεν, τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς νίκης ὑμεῖς ἀναδή-
σεσθε[1] μέρος, σωτῆράς τε ὑμᾶς ἅπαντες τοῦ τῶν
31 Βανδίλων καλέσουσιν ἔθνους. οἱ γὰρ σὺν τοῖς
πρότερον ἠτυχηκόσιν εὐδοκιμοῦντες εἰκότως αὐτοὶ
32 τὴν ἀμείνω σφετερίζονται τύχην. ταῦτα τοίνυν
ἅπαντα λογιζομένους ὑμᾶς φημι χρῆναι παῖδάς
τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἀπολοφυρομένους κελεύειν θαρ-
σεῖν τε ἤδη καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν παρα-
καλεῖν, καὶ θυμῷ μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι,
τοῖς δὲ ὁμοφύλοις ἐς ταύτην ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν μάχην."

III

Τοσαῦτα Γελίμερ τε καὶ Τζάζων παραινέσαντες
ἐξῆγον τοὺς Βανδίλους, καὶ ἀμφὶ τὸν τοῦ ἀρίστου
καιρόν, οὐ προσδεχομένων Ῥωμαίων, ἀλλ' ἄρι-
στον σφίσι παρασκευαζόντων, παρῆσαν καὶ παρὰ[2]
τὰς τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὄχθας ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐτάξαντο.
2 ἔστι δὲ ποταμὸς ὁ ταύτῃ ῥέων ἀέναος μέν, οὕτω
δὲ τὸ ῥεῦμα βραχὺς ὥστε οὐδὲ ὀνόματος ἰδίου

[1] ἀναδήσεσθε O : ἀναδήσεσθαι V, ἀναδήσασθε P.
[2] παρὰ Maltretus : περὶ MSS.

you weaken now, you will be deprived of even the renown of those deeds, as of something which does not belong to you at all. And yet, even apart from this, it is reasonable to think that you will have an advantage over the rest of the Vandals in this battle. For those who have failed are dismayed by their previous fortune, while those who have encountered no reverse enter the struggle with their courage unimpaired. And this too, I think, will not be spoken out of season, that if we conquer the enemy, it will be you who will win the credit for the greatest part of the victory, and all will call you saviours of the nation of the Vandals. For men who achieve renown in company with those who have previously met with misfortune naturally claim the better fortune as their own. Considering all these things, therefore, I say that you should bid the women and children who are lamenting their fate to take courage even now, should summon God to fight with us, should go with enthusiasm against the enemy, and lead the way for our compatriots into this battle."

III

After both Gelimer and Tzazon had spoken such exhortations, they led out the Vandals, and at about the time of lunch, when the Romans were not expecting them, but were preparing their meal, they were at hand and arrayed themselves for battle along the bank of the stream. Now the stream at that place is an ever-flowing one, to be sure, but its volume is so small that it is not even given a special name by the

πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων μεταλαγχάνει, ἀλλ' ἐν
3 ῥύακος μοίρᾳ ὠνόμασται. τούτου δὴ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν ἑτέραν ὄχθην ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων παρασκευασάμενοι ἧκον καὶ ἐτάξαντο
4 ὧδε. κέρας μὲν τὸ ἀριστερὸν Μαρτῖνός τε καὶ Βαλεριανὸς καὶ Ἰωάννης καὶ Κυπριανός τε καὶ Ἀλθίας καὶ Μάρκελλος εἶχον καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι φοιδεράτων ἄρχοντες ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ δεξιὸν Πάππος τε καὶ Βαρβᾶτος καὶ Ἀϊγὰν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν
5 ἱππικῶν καταλόγων ἦρχον. κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέσον Ἰωάννης ἐτάσσετο,[1] τούς τε ὑπασπιστὰς καὶ δορυφόρους Βελισαρίου καὶ σημεῖον τὸ στρατηγι-
6 κὸν ἐπαγόμενος. οὗ δὴ καὶ Βελισάριος εἰς καιρὸν ξὺν τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἱππεῦσιν ἀφίκετο, τοὺς πεζοὺς ὄπισθεν βάδην προσιόντας[2] ἀπολιπών.
7 οἱ γὰρ Οὖννοι ἅπαντες ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐτάξαντο χώρᾳ, εἰθισμένον μὲν σφίσι καὶ πρότερον ἥκιστα ἐπιμίγνυσθαι τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, τότε δὲ καὶ ἐν νῷ ἃ προδεδήλωται ἔχουσιν οὐκ ἦν βουλομένοις ξὺν τῇ ἄλλῃ στρατιᾷ τάσσεσθαι. Ῥωμαίοις μὲν
8 οὖν τὰ τῆς τάξεως ὧδέ πῃ εἶχε. Βανδίλων δὲ κέρας μὲν ἑκάτερον οἱ χιλίαρχοι εἶχον, ἕκαστός τε ἡγεῖτο τοῦ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν λόχου, κατὰ δὲ δὴ τὸ μέσον Τζάζων ἦν ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός, ὄπι-
9 σθεν δὲ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ἐτετάχατο. αὐτὸς μέντοι ὁ Γελίμερ πανταχόσε περιιὼν ἐνεκελεύετό τε καὶ ἐς εὐτολμίαν ἐνῆγε. προείρητο δὲ Βανδίλοις ἅπασι μήτε δορατίῳ μήτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῳοῦν ὀργάνῳ ἐς ξυμβολὴν τήνδε, ὅτι μὴ τοῖς ξίφεσι, χρῆσθαι.

10 Χρόνου δὲ τριβέντος συχνοῦ καὶ μάχης οὐδενὸς

[1] ἐτάσσετο PO: ἦν V.
[2] προσιόντας VP: προιόντας O.

inhabitants of the place, but it is designated simply as a brook. So the Romans came to the other bank of this river, after preparing themselves as well as they could under the circumstances, and arrayed themselves as follows. The left wing was held by Martinus and Valerian, John, Cyprian, Althias, and Marcellus, and as many others as were commanders of the foederati[1]; and the right was held by Pappas, Barbatus, and Aïgan, and the others who commanded the forces of cavalry. And in the centre John took his position, leading the guards and spearmen of Belisarius and carrying the general's standard. And Belisarius also came there at the opportune moment with his five hundred horsemen, leaving the infantry behind advancing at a walk. For all the Huns had been arrayed in another place, it being customary for them even before this not to mingle with the Roman army if they could avoid so doing, and at that time especially, since they had in mind the purpose which has previously been explained,[2] it was not their wish to be arrayed with the rest of the army. Such, then, was the formation of the Romans. And on the side of the Vandals, either wing was held by the chiliarchs, and each one led the division under him, while in the centre was Tzazon, the brother of Gelimer, and behind him were arrayed the Moors. But Gelimer himself was going about everywhere exhorting them and urging them on to daring. And the command had been previously given to all the Vandals to use neither spear nor any other weapon in this engagement except their swords.

After a considerable time had passed and no one

[1] "Auxiliaries"; see Book III. xi. 3 and note.
[2] Chap. i. 3.

ἄρχοντος Ἰωάννης τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ὀλίγους
ἀπολέξας Βελισαρίου γνώμῃ τόν τε ποταμὸν
διέβη καὶ ἐς τοὺς μέσους ἐσέβαλεν, ἔνθα δὴ ὁ
Τζάζων ὠθισμῷ χρησάμενος ἐδίωξεν αὐτούς.
11 καὶ οἱ μὲν φεύγοντες ἐς τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν στρα-
τόπεδον ἧκον, οἱ δὲ Βανδίλοι διώκοντες ἄχρι ἐς
12 τὸν ποταμὸν ἦλθον,[1] οὐ μέντοι διέβησαν. αὖθις
δὲ Ἰωάννης πλείους τῶν Βελισαρίου ὑπασπιστῶν
ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τοὺς ἀμφὶ τὸν Τζάζωνα ἐσεπήδησε,
καὶ αὖθις ἐνθένδε ἀποκρουσθεὶς ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων
13 στρατόπεδον ἀνεχώρησε. τὸ δὲ δὴ τρίτον ξὺν
πᾶσι σχεδὸν τοῖς Βελισαρίου τε δορυφόροις καὶ
ὑπασπισταῖς τὸ στρατηγικὸν σημεῖον λαβὼν[2]
τὴν ἐσβολὴν ἐποιήσατο ξὺν βοῇ τε καὶ πατάγῳ
14 πολλῷ. τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ἀνδρείως τε αὐτοὺς
ὑφισταμένων καὶ μόνοις χρωμένων τοῖς ξίφεσι,
γίνεται μὲν καρτερὰ ἡ μάχη, πίπτουσι δὲ
Βανδίλων πολλοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι, καὶ Τζάζων
15 αὐτὸς ὁ τοῦ Γελίμερος ἀδελφός. τότε δὴ ἅπαν
τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐκινήθη καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
διαβάντες ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρησαν, ἥ τε
τροπὴ ἀρξαμένη ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου λαμπρὰ ἐγεγόνει·
τοὺς γὰρ κατ' αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐτρέψαντο
16 ἕκαστοι. ἃ δὴ ὁρῶντες οἱ Μασσαγέται κατὰ τὰ
σφίσι ξυγκείμενα ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ τὴν
δίωξιν ἐποιήσαντο, οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ μέντοι ἡ δίωξις
17 ἥδε ἐγεγόνει. οἵ τε γὰρ Βανδίλοι ἐς τὸ σφέτερον
στρατόπεδον κατὰ τάχος εἰσελθόντες ἡσύχαζον
καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι ἐν τῷ χαρα-
κώματι πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαμάχεσθαι οἷοί τε εἶναι,
τούς τε νεκροὺς ὅσοι ἐχρυσοφόρουν ἀπέδυσαν καὶ

[1] ἦλθον VP: ἧκον O. [2] λαβὼν VP: ἀναλαβὼν O.

began the battle, John chose out a few of those under him by the advice of Belisarius and crossing the river made an attack on the centre, where Tzazon crowded them back and gave chase. And the Romans in flight came into their own camp, while the Vandals in pursuit came as far as the stream, but did not cross it. And once more John, leading out more of the guardsmen of Belisarius, made a dash against the forces of Tzazon, and again being repulsed from there, withdrew to the Roman camp. And a third time with almost all the guards and spearmen of Belisarius he took the general's standard and made his attack with much shouting and a great noise. But since the barbarians manfully withstood them and used only their swords, the battle became fierce, and many of the noblest of the Vandals fell, and among them Tzazon himself, the brother of Gelimer. Then at last the whole Roman army was set in motion, and crossing the river they advanced upon the enemy, and the rout, beginning at the centre, became complete; for each of the Roman divisions turned to flight those before them with no trouble. And the Massagetae, seeing this, according to their agreement among themselves[1] joined the Roman army in making the pursuit, but this pursuit was not continued for a great distance. For the Vandals entered their own camp quickly and remained quiet, while the Romans, thinking that they would not be able to fight it out with them inside the stockade, stripped such of the corpses as had

[1] Chap. i. 3.

ἐς τὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν στρατόπεδον ἀπεχώρησαν.
18 ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ μάχῃ Ῥωμαίων μὲν
ἥσσους ἢ πεντήκοντα, Βανδίλων δὲ ὀκτακόσιοι
μάλιστα.
19 Βελισάριος δέ, τῶν πεζῶν οἱ ἀφικομένων ἀμφὶ
δείλην ὀψίαν, ἄρας ὡς εἶχε τάχους παντὶ τῷ
στρατῷ ᾔει ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν Βανδίλων στρατόπεδον.
20 Γελίμερ δὲ γνοὺς Βελισάριον ξύν τε τοῖς πεζοῖς
καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ἰέναι,
οὐδὲν οὔτε εἰπὼν οὔτε ἐντειλάμενος ἐπί τε τὸν
ἵππον ἀναθρώσκει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Νουμίδας φέρουσαν
21 ἔφευγε. καὶ αὐτῷ οἵ τε ξυγγενεῖς καὶ τῶν
οἰκετῶν ὀλίγοι τινὲς εἵποντο καταπεπληγμένοι τε
22 καὶ τὰ παρόντα ἐν σιγῇ ἔχοντες. καὶ χρόνον μέν
τινα ἔλαθε Βανδίλους ἀποδρὰς[1] Γελίμερ, ἐπεὶ δὲ
αὐτόν τε πεφευγέναι ᾔσθοντο ἅπαντες καὶ οἱ
πολέμιοι ἤδη καθεωρῶντο, τότε δὴ οἵ τε ἄνδρες
ἐθορύβουν καὶ τὰ παιδία ἀνέκραγε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες
23 ἐκώκυον. καὶ οὔτε χρημάτων παρόντων μετεποι-
οῦντο οὔτε τῶν φιλτάτων ὀδυρομένων σφίσιν
ἔμελεν, ἀλλ' ἕκαστος ἔφευγεν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ ὅπῃ
24 ἐδύνατο. ἐπελθόντες δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τό τε στρατό-
πεδον ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον αὐτοῖς χρήμασιν αἱροῦσι καὶ
ἐπιδιώξαντες τὴν νύκτα ὅλην ἄνδρας μὲν ὅσοις
ἐντύχοιεν ἔκτεινον, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἐποι-
25 οῦντο ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ. χρήματα δὲ τοσαῦτα
τὸ πλῆθος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ στρατοπέδῳ εὗρον ὅσα
οὐδεπώποτε ἔν γε χωρίῳ ἑνὶ τετύχηκεν εἶναι.
26 οἵ τε γὰρ Βανδίλοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴν Ῥωμαίων
ἀρχὴν[2] λῃσάμενοι συχνὰ χρήματα ἐς Λιβύην

[1] ἀποδρὰς VP : ἀποβὰς O. [2] ἀρχὴν VO : χώραν P.

gold upon them and retired to their own camp. And there perished in this battle, of the Romans less than fifty, but of the Vandals about eight hundred.

But Belisarius, when the infantry came up in the late afternoon, moved as quickly as he could with the whole army and went against the camp of the Vandals. And Gelimer, realising that Belisarius with his infantry and the rest of his army was coming against him straightway, without saying a word or giving a command leaped upon his horse and was off in flight on the road leading to Numidia. And his kinsmen and some few of his domestics followed him in utter consternation and guarding with silence what was taking place. And for some time it escaped the notice of the Vandals that Gelimer had run away, but when they all perceived that he had fled, and the enemy were already plainly seen, then indeed the men began to shout and the children cried out and the women wailed. And they neither took with them the money they had nor did they heed the laments of those dearest to them, but every man fled in complete disorder just as he could. And the Romans, coming up, captured the camp, money and all, with not a man in it; and they pursued the fugitives throughout the whole night, killing all the men upon whom they happened, and making slaves of the women and children. And they found in this camp a quantity of wealth such as has never before been found, at least in one place. For the Vandals had plundered the Roman domain for a long time and had transferred great amounts of money to Libya,

μετήνεγκαν καὶ τῆς χώρας αὐτοῖς[1] ἀγαθῆς ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα οὔσης καρποῖς τε τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις ἐς ἄγαν εὐθηνούσης, τὰς τῶν χρημάτων προσόδους ξυνέβη, αἵ γε ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνῃ γινομένων ἀγαθῶν ἠγείροντο, οὐκ ἐς ἑτέραν τινὰ δαπανᾶσθαι χώραν ἐμπορίᾳ[2] τῇ τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, ἀλλ' αὐτὰς ἀεὶ οἱ τὰ χωρία κεκτημένοι προσεποιοῦντο ἐς πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη, ἐς οἷς δὴ Λιβύης οἱ
27 Βανδίλοι ἦρξαν. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐς πάμπολυ χρῆμα ὁ πλοῦτος χωρήσας ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐς
28 τῶν Ῥωμαίων τὰς χεῖρας ἐπανῆκεν αὖθις. ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη καὶ δίωξις ἥδε καὶ τοῦ Βανδίλων στρατοπέδου ἡ ἅλωσις τρισὶ μησὶν ὕστερον γέγονεν ἢ ὁ Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦλθε, μεσοῦντος μάλιστα τοῦ τελευταίου μηνός, ὃν Δεκέμβριον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι.

IV

Τότε δὲ κατιδὼν Βελισάριος τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα πλημμελῶς τε καὶ ξὺν πολλῇ ἀκοσμίᾳ φερόμενον ἤσχαλλε, δειμαίνων τὴν νύκτα ὅλην μὴ οἱ πολέμιοι, ξυμφρονήσαντές τε καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ξυνιστάμενοι, τὰ ἀνήκεστα αὐτοὺς δράσωσιν.
2 ὅπερ εἰ γενέσθαι τρόπῳ ὅτῳ δὴ τηνικαῦτα ξυνέπεσεν, οἶμαι ἂν Ῥωμαίων οὐδένα διαφυγόντα
3 ταύτης δὴ τῆς λείας ἀπόνασθαι. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται πένητες ἄνθρωποι κομιδῇ ὄντες καὶ χρημάτων μὲν ἐς ἄγαν μεγάλων, σωμάτων δὲ ὡραίων

[1] αὐτοῖς MSS. : αὐτῆς Theophanes.
[2] ἐμπορίᾳ VP : ἀπορίᾳ O.

and since their land was an especially good one, flourishing abundantly with the most useful crops, it came about that the revenue collected from the commodities produced there was not paid out to any other country in the purchase of a food supply, but those who possessed the land always kept for themselves the income from it for the ninety-five years during which the Vandals ruled Libya. And from this it resulted that their wealth, amounting to an extraordinary sum, returned once more on that day into the hands of the Romans. So this battle and the pursuit and the capture of the Vandals' camp happened three months after the Roman army came to Carthage, at about the middle of the last month, 533 A.D. which the Romans call "December."

IV

THEN Belisarius, seeing the Roman army rushing about in confusion and great disorder, was disturbed, being fearful throughout the whole night lest the enemy, uniting by mutual agreement against him, should do him irreparable harm. And if this thing had happened at that time in any way at all, I believe that not one of the Romans would have escaped and enjoyed this booty. For the soldiers, being extremely poor men, upon becoming all of a sudden masters of very great wealth and of women both young and

τε καὶ ὑπερφυῶς εὐπρεπῶν κύριοι ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου
γεγενημένοι κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκέτι ἐδύ-
ναντο οὐδὲ κόρον τινὰ τῶν σφίσι παρόντων εὑρεῖν,
ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐμέθυον, καταβεβρεγμένοι τοῖς ὑπάρ-
χουσιν εὐτυχήμασιν, ὥστε αὐτὸς[1] ἕκαστος
ἅπαντα ἄγων ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀναστρέφειν ἐβού-
4 λοντο. καὶ περιήρχοντο οὐ κατὰ συμμορίας,
ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἕνα ἢ δύο, ὅπη ποτὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ ἐλπὶς
ἄγοι, ἅπαντα κύκλῳ διερευνώμενοι ἔν τε νάπαις
καὶ δυσχωρίαις καὶ εἴ που σπήλαιον παρατύχοι
5 ἢ ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν ἐς κίνδυνον ἢ ἐνέδραν ἄγον. οὐδὲ
γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῶν πολεμίων φόβος οὐδὲ ἡ Βελι-
σαρίου αἰδὼς ἐσῄει οὐδὲ ἄλλο τῶν πάντων οὐδέν,
ὅτι μὴ ἡ τῶν λαφύρων ἐπιθυμία, ταύτης τε
ὑπερβιαζομένης ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν τῶν ἄλλων πάντων
6 ἐτράποντο. ἃ δὴ ἅπαντα ἐν νῷ ποιούμενος
Βελισάριος ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχεν ᾗ τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι.
7 ἅμα δὲ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ λόφου τινὸς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἀγχοῦ
εἱστήκει, τήν τε οὐκέτι οὖσαν εὐκοσμίαν ἀνακαλού-
μενος καὶ πολλὰ πᾶσι στρατιώταις τε ὁμοῦ καὶ
8 ἄρχουσι λοιδορούμενος. τότε δὴ ὅσοις τετύχηκε
πλησίον που εἶναι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ τῆς Βελισαρίου
οἰκίας ὄντες, τὰ μὲν ὑπάρχοντα σφίσι χρήματά
τε καὶ ἀνδράποδα ξὺν τοῖς ὁμοσκήνοις τε καὶ
ὁμοτραπέζοις ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπεμπον, αὐτοὶ δὲ
παρὰ τὸν στρατηγὸν ἰόντες τῶν σφίσι παραγγελ-
λομένων κατήκουον.
9 Ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννην μὲν τὸν Ἀρμένιον ξὺν διακοσίοις
ἐκέλευε Γελίμερι ἕπεσθαι, καὶ μήτε νύκτα μήτε
ἡμέραν ἀνιέντας διώκειν, ἕως αὐτὸν ζῶντα ἢ
10 νεκρὸν λάβοιεν. ἐς δὲ Καρχηδόνα τοῖς ἐπιτη-

[1] αὐτὸς VO: τούτων P.

extremely comely, were no longer able to restrain their minds or to find any satiety in the things they had, but were so intoxicated, drenched as they were by their present good fortunes, that each one wished to take everything with him back to Carthage. And they were going about, not in companies but alone or by twos, wherever hope led them, searching out everything roundabout among the valleys and the rough country and wherever there chanced to be a cave or anything such as might bring them into danger or ambush. For neither did fear of the enemy nor their respect for Belisarius occur to them, nor indeed anything else at all except the desire for spoils, and being overmastered by this they came to think lightly of everything else. And Belisarius, taking note of all this, was at a loss as to how he should handle the situation. But at daybreak he took his stand upon a certain hill near the road, appealing to the discipline which no longer existed and heaping reproaches upon all, soldiers and officers alike. Then, indeed, those who chanced to be near, and especially those who were of the household of Belisarius, sent the money and slaves which they had to Carthage with their tentmates and messmates, and themselves came up beside the general and gave heed to the orders given them.

And he commanded John, the Armenian, with two hundred men to follow Gelimer, and without slackening their speed either night or day to pursue him, until they should take him living or dead. And he sent word to his associates in Carthage to lead into

δείοις ἐπέστελλε, Βανδίλοις, ὅσοι ἐς τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν
πόλιν χωρία ἐν ἱεροῖς ἱκέται ἐκάθηντο, πιστὰ
διδοῦσι καὶ τὰ ὅπλα, ὅπως μή τι νεωτερίσωσιν,
ἀφελομένοις ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν ἐσαγαγοῦσιν ἔχειν,
11 ἄχρι αὐτὸς ἔλθοι. ξὺν δὲ τοῖς λειπομένοις
πανταχόσε περιιὼν τούς τε στρατιώτας σπουδῇ
ἤγειρε καὶ Βανδίλοις τοῖς ἀεὶ ἐν ποσὶ πίστεις ὑπὲρ
σωτηρίας ἐδίδου. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἦν Βανδίλων
12 οὐδένα ὅτι μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἱκέτην λαβεῖν. ὧν δὴ
τὰ ὅπλα ἀφαιρούμενος, ξὺν στρατιώταις φυλάσ-
σουσιν ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔστελλεν, οὐ διδοὺς καιρὸν
13 σφίσιν ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ξυνίστασθαι. καὶ ἐπεὶ
ἅπαντά οἱ ὡς ἄριστα εἶχεν, ἐπὶ Γελίμερα καὶ
αὐτὸς ξὺν τῷ πλείονι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ τάχος
14 ᾔει. ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ἐς πέντε ἡμέρας τε καὶ νύκτας
τὴν δίωξιν ποιησάμενος οὐ πόρρω ἀπὸ Γελίμερος
ἤδη ἐγεγόνει, ἀλλά οἱ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ἔμελλεν ἐς
χεῖρας ἰέναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἔδει Γελίμερα Ἰωάννῃ
15 ἁλῶναι, τύχης ἐναντίωμα ξυνηνέχθη τοιόνδε. ἐν
τοῖς ξὺν Ἰωάννῃ διώκουσιν Οὐλίαριν τὸν Βελι-
16 σαρίου δορυφόρον τετύχηκεν εἶναι. ἦν δὲ οὗτος
ἀνὴρ θυμοειδὴς μὲν καὶ πρὸς ἀλκὴν ψυχῆς τε καὶ
σώματος ἱκανῶς πεφυκώς, οὐ λίαν δὲ κατεσπου-
δασμένος, ἀλλ' οἴνῳ τε καὶ γελοίοις ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
17 χαίρων. οὗτος Οὐλίαρις ἡμέρᾳ τῆς διώξεως ἕκτῃ
οἰνωμένος ἀμφὶ ἡλίου ἀνατολὰς ὄρνιν τινὰ ἐπὶ
δένδρου καθήμενον εἶδε, καὶ τὸ τόξον κατὰ τάχος
18 ἐντείνας κατὰ τοῦ ὄρνιθος ἠφίει τὸ βέλος. καὶ
τοῦ μὲν ὄρνιθος ἀποτυγχάνει, Ἰωάννην δὲ ὄπισθεν
19 ἐς τὸν αὐχένα οὔτι ἑκουσίως βάλλει. ὁ δὲ καιρίαν
τυπεὶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ὕστερον
ἠφανίσθη, πολὺν αὐτοῦ πόθον βασιλεῖ τε

the city all the Vandals who were sitting as suppliants in sanctuaries in the places about the city, giving them pledges and taking away their weapons, that they might not begin an uprising, and to keep them there until he himself should come. And with those who were left he went about everywhere and gathered the soldiers hastily, and to all the Vandals he came upon he gave pledges for their safety. For it was no longer possible to catch anyone of the Vandals except as a suppliant in the sanctuaries. And from these he took away their weapons and sent them, with soldiers to guard them, to Carthage, not giving them time to unite against the Romans. And when everything was as well settled as possible, he himself with the greater part of the army moved against Gelimer with all speed. But John, after continuing the pursuit five days and nights, had already come not far from Gelimer, and in fact he was about to engage with him on the following day. But since it was not fated that Gelimer should be captured by John, the following obstacle was contrived by fortune. Among those pursuing with John it happened that there was Uliaris, the aide of Belisarius. Now this man was a passionate fellow and well favoured in strength of heart and body, but not a very serious man, but one who generally took delight in wine and buffoonery. This Uliaris on the sixth day of the pursuit, being drunk, saw a bird sitting in a tree at about sunrise, and he quickly stretched his bow and despatched a missile at the bird. And he missed the bird, but John, who was behind it, he hit in the neck by no will of his own. And since the wound was mortal, John passed away a short time afterwards, leaving great sorrow at his loss to the Emperor Justinian and

Ἰουστινιανῷ καὶ Βελισαρίῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ καὶ
Ῥωμαίοις ἅπασι καὶ Καρχηδονίοις ἀπολιπών.
20 ἀνδρίας τε γὰρ καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς εὖ ἥκων,
πρᾶόν τε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι παρεῖχεν αὑτὸν καὶ
ἐπιεικέστατον[1] οὐδενὸς ἧσσον. Ἰωάννης μὲν οὖν
21 τὴν πεπρωμένην οὕτως ἀνέπλησεν. Οὐλίαρις δὲ
ἐπεὶ ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἐγεγόνει, ἔς κώμην τινὰ πλησίον που
οὖσαν καταφυγὼν ἐν τῷ κατὰ ταύτην ἱερῷ ἱκέτης
22 ἐκάθητο. οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται Γελίμερα διώκειν
οὐκέτι ὥρμηντο, ἀλλ' Ἰωάννην μὲν ἕως περιῆν
ἐθεράπευον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἐτελεύτησε, τά τε
νομιζόμενα ἐς τὴν αὐτοῦ ὁσίαν[2] ἐποίουν καὶ τὸν
πάντα λόγον Βελισαρίῳ δηλώσαντες αὐτοῦ ἔμενον.
23 ὅς, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἤκουσεν, ἔς τε τὸν Ἰωάννου
τάφον ἀφίκετο καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου πάθος ἀπέκλαιεν.
24 ἀποκλαύσας δὲ καὶ περιαλγήσας τῇ πάσῃ συμ-
φορᾷ πολλοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ χρημάτων προσόδῳ
25 τὸν Ἰωάννου τάφον ἐτίμησε. δεινὸν μέντοι
Οὐλίαριν οὐδὲν ἔδρασεν, ἐπεὶ οἱ στρατιῶται
Ἰωάννην σφίσιν ἐπισκῆψαι ὅρκοις ἔφασκον
δεινοτάτοις μηδεμίαν ἐς αὐτὸν γενέσθαι τίσιν ἅτε
οὐκ ἐκ προνοίας τὸ μίασμα ἐργασάμενον.
26 Ταύτῃ μὲν οὖν Γελίμερ διαφεύγει τὸ μὴ ὑπὸ
τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γενέσθαι. Βελι-
σάριος δὲ αὐτὸν τὸ ἐντεῦθεν ἐδίωκεν, ἐς πόλιν τε
Νουμιδῶν ἐχυράν, ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ κειμένην, ἀφι-
κόμενος, δέκα ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνος διέχουσαν,
ἣν δὴ Ἱππονερέγιον καλοῦσιν, ἔμαθε Γελίμερα ἐς
Παπούαν τὸ ὄρος ἀναβάντα οὐκέτι ἁλώσιμον
27 Ῥωμαίοις εἶναι. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἐστὶ μὲν ἐν

[1] ἐπιεικέστατον P pr. m.: ἐπιεικὲς ἂν V, ἐς ἐπιείκειαν O, ἐπιεικῆ P pr. m. corr. [2] ὁσίαν PO: ὁσίαν κηδείαν V.

Belisarius, the general, and to all the Romans and Carthaginians. For in manliness and every sort of virtue he was well endowed, and he shewed himself, to those who associated with him, gentle and equitable to a degree quite unsurpassed. Thus, then, John fulfilled his destiny. As for Uliaris, when he came to himself, he fled to a certain village which was near by and sat as a suppliant in the sanctuary there. And the soldiers no longer pressed the pursuit of Gelimer, but they cared for John as long as he survived, and when he had died they carried out all the customary rites in his burial, and reporting the whole matter to Belisarius they remained where they were. And as soon as he heard of it, he came to John's burial, and bewailed his fate. And after weeping over him and grieving bitterly at the whole occurrence, he honoured the tomb of John with many gifts and especially by providing for it a regular income. However, he did nothing severe to Uliaris, since the soldiers said that John had enjoined upon them by the most dread oaths that no vengeance should come to him, since he had not performed the unholy deed with deliberate intent.

Thus, then, Gelimer escaped falling into the hands of the enemy on that day. And from that time on Belisarius pursued him, but upon reaching a strong city of Numidia situated on the sea, ten days distant from Carthage, which they call Hippo Regius,[1] he learned that Gelimer had ascended the mountain Papua and could no longer be captured by the Romans. Now this mountain is situated at the extremity of

[1] Now Bona; it was the home and burial-place of St. Augustine.

τοῖς Νουμιδίας ἐσχάτοις ἀπότομόν τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον καὶ δεινῶς ἄβατον (πέτραι γὰρ ὑψηλαὶ ἐς αὐτὸ πανταχόθεν ἀνέχουσι), κατῴκηνται δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ Μαυρούσιοι βάρβαροι, οἳ τῷ Γελίμερι φίλοι τε καὶ ἐπίκουροι ἦσαν, καὶ πόλις ἀρχαία Μηδεὸς
28 ὄνομα παρὰ τοῦ ὄρους τὰ ἔσχατα κεῖται. ἐνταῦθα Γελίμερ ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἡσύχαζε. Βελισάριος δὲ (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους ἀποπειρᾶσθαι ἄλλως τε καὶ χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ οἷός τε ἦν, ἔτι τέ οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ᾐωρημένων Καρχηδόνος ἀπολελεῖφθαι ἀξύμφορον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι) στρατιώτας τε ἀπολεξάμενος καὶ ἄρχοντα Φάραν τῇ τοῦ ὄρους
29 προσεδρείᾳ κατέστησεν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Φάρας οὗτος δραστήριός τε καὶ λίαν κατεσπουδασμένος καὶ ἀρετῆς εὖ ἥκων, καίπερ Ἔρουλος ὢν γένος.
30 ἄνδρα δὲ Ἔρουλον μὴ ἐς ἀπιστίαν τε καὶ μέθην ἀνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς μεταποιεῖσθαι, χαλεπόν τε
31 καὶ ἐπαίνου πολλοῦ ἄξιον. Φάρας δὲ οὐ μόνος[1] τῆς εὐκοσμίας ἀντείχετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἐρούλων ὅσοι αὐτῷ εἵποντο. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Φάραν ἐς τὸν τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδα Βελισάριος καθῆσθαι τὴν τοῦ χειμῶνος ὥραν ἐκέλευε καὶ φυλακὴν ἀκριβῆ ἔχειν, ὡς μήτε τὸ ὄρος ἀπολιπεῖν Γελίμερι δυνατὰ εἴη μήτε τι τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσκομίζεσθαι.
32 καὶ Φάρας μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Βελισάριος δὲ Βανδίλους ὅσοι ἐς Ἱππονερέγιον πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἱκέται ἐκάθηντο, πολλοί τε καὶ ἄριστοι, ἀνέστησέ τε πιστὰ λαβόντας καὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα

[1] μόνος P; μόνον VO.

Numidia and is exceedingly precipitous and climbed only with the greatest difficulty (for lofty cliffs rise up toward it from every side), and on it dwell barbarian Moors, who were friends and allies to Gelimer, and an ancient city named Medeus lies on the outskirts of the mountain. There Gelimer rested with his followers. But as for Belisarius, he was not able to make any attempt at all on the mountain, much less in the winter season, and since his affairs were still in an uncertain state, he did not think it advisable to be away from Carthage; and so he chose out soldiers, with Pharas as their leader, and set them to maintain the siege of the mountain. Now this Pharas was energetic and thoroughly serious and upright in every way, although he was an Erulian by birth. And for an Erulian not to give himself over to treachery and drunkenness, but to strive after uprightness, is no easy matter and merits abundant praise.[1] But not only was it Pharas who maintained orderly conduct, but also all the Erulians who followed him. This Pharas, then, Belisarius commanded to establish himself at the foot of the mountain during the winter season and to keep close guard, so that it would neither be possible for Gelimer to leave the mountain nor for any supplies to be brought in to him. And Pharas acted accordingly. Then Belisarius turned to the Vandals who were sitting as suppliants in the sanctuaries in Hippo Regius,—and there were many of them and of the nobility—and he caused them all to accept pledges and arise, and then he sent them to Carthage with a

[1] The Eruli, or Heruli, were one of the wildest and most corrupt of the barbarian tribes. They came from beyond the Danube. On their origin, practices, and character, see VI. xiv.

ξὺν φυλακῇ ἔπεμψεν. ἐνταῦθα δὲ αὐτῷ καί τι τοιόνδε ξυμπεσεῖν ἔτυχεν.

33 Ἐν τῇ Γελίμερος οἰκίᾳ γραμματεὺς ἦν τις Βονιφάτιος Λίβυς, ἐκ Βυζακίου ὁρμώμενος, πιστὸς
34 τῷ Γελίμερι ἐς τὰ μάλιστα. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν Βονιφάτιον Γελίμερ κατ' ἀρχὰς τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἐς ναῦν ἐμβιβάσας ἄριστα πλέουσαν, ἐν ταύτῃ τε[1] ἅπαντα τὸν βασιλικὸν πλοῦτον ἐνθέμενος ἐκέλευεν ἐς τὸν τοῦ Ἱππονερεγίου λιμένα ὁρμίζεσθαι, καὶ ἢν τὰ πράγματα σφίσιν οὐκ εὖ καθιστάμενα ἴδοι, τὰ χρήματα ἔχοντα πλεῖν κατὰ τάχος ἐς Ἱσπανίαν, παρὰ Θεῦδίν τε ἀφικέσθαι τὸν τῶν Οὐισιγότθων ἡγούμενον, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς διασώζεσθαι ἐκαραδόκει, πονηρᾶς γινομένης Βανδίλοις τῆς τοῦ πολέμου τύχης.
35 Βονιφάτιος δέ, ἕως μὲν τὰ Βανδίλων ἐλπίδα εἶχεν, αὐτοῦ ἔμενεν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τάχιστα ἡ ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ μάχη καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἅπερ ἐρρήθη ἐγεγόνει, ἄρας τὰ ἱστία ἔπλει καθάπερ οἱ ἐπέστελλε Γελίμερ.
36 ἀλλὰ πνεύματος αὐτὸν ἐναντίωμα εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ἱππονερεγίου λιμένα οὔτι ἑκούσιον αὖθις ἤνεγκεν. ὡς δὲ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγχοῦ ἤδη που ἠκηκόει εἶναι, τοὺς ναύτας πολλὰ ὑποσχόμενος ἐλιπάρει ἐς ἄλλην τινὰ ἤπειρον ἢ νῆσον βιασαμένους ἰέναι.
37 οἱ δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἐδύναντο χειμῶνος σφίσι χαλεποῦ λίαν ἐπιπεσόντος καὶ τὸ τῆς θαλάσσης ῥόθιον ἅτε ἐν Τυρρηνικῷ πελάγει ἐς ὕψος μέγα ἐγείροντος), τότε δὴ αὐτοί τε καὶ Βονιφάτιος ἐς ἔννοιαν ἦλθον ὡς ἄρα ὁ θεὸς τὰ χρήματα Ῥωμαίοις διδόναι ἐθέλων τὴν ναῦν οὐκ ἐῴη ἀνάγεσθαι.
38 μόλις μέντοι τοῦ λιμένος ἔξω γενόμενοι ξὺν

[1] ἐν ταύτῃ τε P : ἐς αὐτήν τε V, ἐς ταύτην O.

guard. And there it came about that the following event happened to him.

In the house of Gelimer there was a certain scribe named Boniface, a Libyan, and a native of Byzacium, a man exceedingly faithful to Gelimer. At the beginning of this war Gelimer had put this Boniface on a very swift-sailing ship, and placing all the royal treasure in it commanded him to anchor in the harbour of Hippo Regius, and if he should see that the situation was not favourable to their side, he was to sail with all speed to Spain with the money, and go to Theudis, the leader of the Visigoths, where he was expecting to find safety for himself also, should the fortune of war prove adverse for the Vandals. So Boniface, as long as he felt hope for the cause of the Vandals, remained there; but as soon as the battle in Tricamarum took place, with all the other events which have been related, he spread his canvas and sailed away just as Gelimer had directed him. But an opposing wind brought him back, much against his will, into the harbour of Hippo Regius. And since he had already heard that the enemy were somewhere near, he entreated the sailors with many promises to row with all their might for some other continent or for an island. But they were unable to do so, since a very severe storm had fallen upon them and the waves of the sea were rising to a great height, seeing that it was the Tuscan sea,[1] and then it occurred to them and to Boniface that, after all, God wished to give the money to the Romans and so was not allowing the ship to put out. However, though they had got outside the harbour, they encountered great danger

[1] The Greek implies that the Tuscan Sea was stormy, like the Adriatic. The Syrtes farther east had a bad reputation.

39 κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ τὴν ναῦν ἀνεκώχευον. ὡς δὲ
ἀφίκετο Βελισάριος εἰς τὸ Ἱππονερέγιον, πέμπει
τινὰς παρ' αὐτὸν Βονιφάτιος. οὓς δὴ ἐν ἱερῷ
καθῆσθαι ἐκέλευεν, ἐροῦντας μὲν ὡς πρὸς[1] Βονι-
φατίου σταλεῖεν τοῦ τὰ Γελίμερος χρήματα
ἔχοντος, ἀποκρυψομένους δὲ ὅπῃ ποτὲ εἴη, πρίν
γε δὴ τὰ πιστὰ λάβοιεν ὡς τὰ Γελίμερος χρήματα
διδοὺς αὐτὸς ἀπαλλάξει κακῶν ἀπαθής, ἔχων ὅσα
40 αὐτοῦ οἰκεῖα εἴη. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἔπρασσον,
Βελισάριος δὲ ἥσθη τε τῇ εὐαγγελίᾳ καὶ ὀμεῖσθαι
41 οὐκ ἀπηξίου. στείλας τε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινὰς
τόν τε Γελίμερος πλοῦτον ἔλαβε καὶ Βονιφάτιον
ξὺν τοῖς χρήμασι τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἀφῆκε, πάμπολύ τι
χρῆμα τοῦ Γελίμερος συλήσαντα πλούτου.

V

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἀνέστρεφε, Βανδίλους
τε ἅπαντας ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο, ὅπως ἅμα ἦρι
ἀρχομένῳ ἐς Βυζάντιον πέμψειε, καὶ στράτευμα
ἔστελλεν ἐφ' ᾧ ἀνασώσοιντο Ῥωμαίοις ἅπαντα
2 ὧν Βανδίλοι ἦρχον. Κύριλλον μὲν οὖν ξὺν
πλήθει πολλῷ ἐς Σαρδὼ ἔπεμψε, τὴν Τζάζωνος
κεφαλὴν ἔχοντα, ἐπεὶ οἱ νησιῶται οὗτοι ἥκιστα
προσχωρεῖν Ῥωμαίοις ἐβούλοντο, δεδιότες τε
τοὺς Βανδίλους καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰόμενοι ἀληθῆ εἶναι
ὅσα σφίσι ξυνενεχθῆναι ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ ἐλέγετο.
3 τούτῳ δὲ τῷ Κυρίλλῳ ἐπήγγελλε μοῖραν τοῦ
στρατοῦ ἐς Κουρσικὴν πέμψαντα τῇ Ῥωμαίων
ἀρχῇ τὴν νῆσον ἀνακτήσασθαι, Βανδίλων κατ-
ήκοον τὰ πρότερα οὖσαν, ἣ Κύρνος μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄνω

[1] πρὸς PO : παρὰ V.

in bringing their ship back to anchorage. And when Belisarius arrived at Hippo Regius, Boniface sent some men to him. These he commanded to sit in a sanctuary, and they were to say that they had been sent by Boniface, who had the money of Gelimer, but to conceal the place where he was, until they should receive the pledges of Belisarius that upon giving Gelimer's money he himself should escape free from harm, having all that was his own. These men, then, acted according to these instructions, and Belisarius was pleased at the good news and did not decline to take an oath. And sending some of his associates he took the treasure of Gelimer and released Boniface in possession of his own money and also with an enormous sum which he plundered from Gelimer's treasure.

V

AND when he returned to Carthage, he put all the Vandals in readiness, so that at the opening of spring he might send them to Byzantium; and he sent out an army to recover for the Romans everything which the Vandals ruled. And first he sent Cyril to Sardinia with a great force, having the head of Tzazon, since these islanders were not at all willing to yield to the Romans, fearing the Vandals and thinking that what had been told them as having happened in Tricamarum could not be true. And he ordered this Cyril to send a portion of the army to Corsica, and to recover for the Roman empire the island, which had been previously subject to the Vandals; this island was called Cyrnus in early

χρόνοις ἐπεκαλεῖτο, οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἀπὸ Σαρδοῦς
4 ἐστιν. ὁ δὲ ἐς Σαρδὼ ἀφικόμενος τήν τε Τζάζωνος
κεφαλὴν τοῖς ταύτῃ ᾠκημένοις ἐπέδειξε[1] καὶ ἄμφω
τὰ νήσω τῇ Ῥωμαίων βασιλείᾳ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγω-
5 γὴν ἀνεσώσατο. ἐς δὲ Καισάρειαν τὴν ἐν Μαυ-
ριτανοῖς Βελισάριος Ἰωάννην ξὺν λόχῳ πεζικῷ
οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς ἡγεῖτο ἔπεμψεν, ἣ ὁδῷ μὲν ἡμερῶν
τριάκοντα εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ Καρχηδόνος διέχει, ἐς
Γάδειρά τε καὶ τὰς ἡλίου δυσμὰς[2] ἰόντι· κεῖται
δὲ ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ, μεγάλη τε καὶ πολυάνθρωπος
6 ἐκ παλαιοῦ οὖσα. Ἰωάννην δὲ ἄλλον, τῶν οἰκείων
ὑπασπιστῶν ἕνα, ἐς τὸν ἐν Γαδείροις πορθμὸν
καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν Ἡρακλέους στηλῶν ἔπεμψε,
τὸ ἐκείνῃ φρούριον, ὃ Σέπτον καλοῦσι, καθέξοντα.
7 ἐς δὲ τὰς νήσους αἵπερ ἀγχοῦ εἰσι τῆς ὠκεανοῦ
ἐσβολῆς, Ἔβουσά τε καὶ Μαϊόρικα καὶ Μινορίκα
ἐπιχωρίως καλούμεναι, Ἀπολλινάριον ἔστειλεν,
ὃς ἐξ Ἰταλίας μὲν ὥρμητο, μειράκιον δὲ ὢν ἔτι ἐς
8 Λιβύην ἀφῖκτο.[3] καὶ πολλοῖς χρήμασι πρὸς
Ἰλδερίχου τότε Βανδίλων ἡγουμένου δεδωρημένος,
ἐπεὶ παρελέλυτο τῆς ἀρχῆς Ἰλδέριχος καὶ ἐν
φυλακῇ, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη,
εἴχετο, ἐς Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα ξὺν Λίβυσι
τοῖς ἄλλοις οἳ τὰ Ἰλδερίχου ἔπρασσον, ἱκετεύσων
9 ἦλθε. στρατεύσας τε ξὺν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στόλῳ
ἐπὶ Γελίμερα καὶ Βανδίλους, ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ἐν τῷ
πολέμῳ τῷδε καὶ πάντων μάλιστα ἐν Τρικαμάρῳ
ἐγένετο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔργου Βελισάριος
10 τὰς νήσους οἱ τάσδε ἐπέτρεψε. μετὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς

[1] ἐπέδειξε VO : ἀπέδειξε P.
[2] ἡλίου δυσμὰς VO Theophanes : ἡρακλέους στήλας P.
[3] ἀφῖκτο Dindorf : ἀφίκετο MSS.

times, and is not far from Sardinia. So he came to Sardinia and displayed the head of Tzazon to the inhabitants of the place, and he won back both the islands and made them tributary to the Roman domain. And to Caesarea[1] in Mauretania Belisarius sent John with an infantry company which he usually commanded himself; this place is distant from Carthage a journey of thirty days for an unencumbered traveller, as one goes towards Gadira and the west; and it is situated upon the sea, having been a great and populous city from ancient times. Another John, one of his own guardsmen, he sent to Gadira on the strait and by one of the Pillars of Heracles, to take possession of the fort there which they call "Septem."[2] And to the islands which are near the strait where the ocean flows in, called Ebusa and Majorica and Minorica[3] by the natives, he sent Apollinarius, who was a native of Italy, but had come while still a lad to Libya. And he had been rewarded with great sums of money by Ilderic, who was then leader of the Vandals, and after Ilderic had been removed from the office and was in confinement, as has been told in the previous narrative,[4] he came to the Emperor Justinian with the other Libyans who were working in the interest of Ilderic, in order to entreat his favour as a suppliant. And he joined the Roman expedition against Gelimer and the Vandals, and proved himself a brave man in this war and most of all at Tricamarum. And as a result of his deeds there Belisarius entrusted to him these islands. And later Belisarius sent an army also into Tripolis to

[1] About twelve miles west of Algiers, originally Iol, now Cherchel; named after Augustus.

[2] See III. i. 6 and note.

[3] See III. i. 18.

[4] Book III. ix. 9.

Τρίπολιν Πουδεντίῳ τε καὶ Ταττιμοὺθ πρὸς τῶν
ἐκείνῃ Μαυρουσίων πιεζομένοις στράτευμα πέμ-
ψας τὴν Ῥωμαίων δύναμιν ταύτῃ ἐπέρρωσε.
11 Στείλας δὲ καὶ ἐς Σικελίαν τινάς, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ
ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ φρούριον ἅτε τῇ Βανδίλων ἀρχῇ
προσῆκον ἕξουσιν, ἀπεκρούσθη ἐνθένδε, Γότθων
ἥκιστα ἀξιούντων Σικελίας τινὰ ξυγχωρεῖν μοῖ-
ραν, ὡς οὐδὲν τὸ φρούριον τοῦτο Βανδίλοις
12 προσῆκον. ὁ δέ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσε, πρὸς τοὺς
ἄρχοντας οἳ ταύτῃ ἦσαν ἔγραψε τάδε· "Λιλύβαιον
τὸ Βανδίλων φρούριον τῶν βασιλέως δούλων
ἀποστερεῖτε ἡμᾶς, οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντες οὐδὲ ὑμῖν
αὐτοῖς ξύμφορα, καὶ ἄρχοντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ οὔτι[1]
ἑκόντι καὶ μακρὰν ἀπολελειμμένῳ τῶν πρασσο-
μένων ἐκπολεμῶσαι βούλεσθε βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν,
οὗ τὴν εὔνοιαν πόνῳ πολλῷ κτησάμενος ἔχει.
13 καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου τρόπου
ποιεῖν δόξαιτε, εἰ Γελίμερα μὲν ἔναγχος ἔχειν
ξυνεχωρεῖτε τὸ φρούριον, βασιλέα δὲ τὸν τοῦ
Γελίμερος κύριον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ τοῦ δούλου
14 κτήματα ἔγνωτε; μὴ ὑμεῖς γε, ὦ βέλτιστοι. ἀλλ'
ἐνθυμεῖσθε, ὡς φιλία μὲν αἰτίας πολλὰς καλύ-
πτειν πέφυκεν, ἔχθρα δὲ οὐδὲ τῶν σμικροτάτων
ἀδικημάτων ἀνέχεται, ἀλλὰ διερευνᾶται μὲν
ἅπαντα ἄνωθεν, οὐ περιορᾷ δὲ πλουτοῦντας τοῖς
15 γε οὐδὲν προσήκουσι τοὺς πολεμίους. εἶτα

[1] οὔτι Haury: οὔτοι V, οὔτε P, οὐκέτι O.

Pudentius and Tattimuth,[1] who were being pressed by the Moors there, and thus strengthened the Roman power in that quarter.

He also sent some men to Sicily in order to take the fortress in Lilybaeum, as belonging to the Vandals' kingdom,[2] but he was repulsed from there, since the Goths by no means saw fit to yield any part of Sicily, on the ground that this fortress did not belong to the Vandals at all. And when Belisarius heard this, he wrote to the commanders who were there as follows: "You are depriving us of Lilybaeum, the fortress of the Vandals who are the slaves of the emperor, and are not acting justly nor in a way to benefit yourselves, and you wish to bring upon your ruler, though he does not so will it and is far distant from the scene of these actions, the hostility of the great emperor, whose good-will he has, having won it with great labour. And yet how could you but seem to be acting contrary to the ways of men, if you recently allowed Gelimer to hold the fortress, but have decided to wrest from the emperor, Gelimer's master, the possessions of the slave? You, at least, should not act thus, most excellent sirs. But reflect that, while it is the nature of friendship to cover over many faults, hostility does not brook even the smallest misdeeds, but searches the past for every offence, and allows not its enemy to grow rich on what does not in the least belong to them.[3] Moreover,

[1] See III. 73.

[2] Lilybaeum had been ceded to the Vandals by Theoderic as dower of his sister Amalafrida on her marriage to Thrasamund, the African king (III. viii. 13).

[3] "Friendship" and "hostility" refer to the present relations between Justinian and the Goths and what they may become.

μάχεται ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς προγόνους ἠδικῆσθαί φησι· καὶ ἢν μὲν σφαλῇ ἐν τῷ κινδύνῳ, ἀπώλεσε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων οὐδέν, εὐημερήσασα δὲ μεταμανθάνειν
16 ποιεῖ τοὺς ἡσσημένους τὸ σύγγνωμον. ὑμεῖς οὖν μήτε δράσητε ἡμᾶς μηδὲν περαιτέρω κακὸν μήτε αὐτοὶ πάθητε, μήτε πολέμιον κατεργάσησθε τῷ Γότθων γένει βασιλέα τὸν μέγαν, ὃν ὑμῖν ἵλεων
17 εἶναι ἐν εὐχῇ ἐστιν. εὖ γὰρ ἴστε ὡς τοῦδε μεταποιουμένοις ὑμῖν τοῦ φρουρίου ὁ πόλεμος ἐν ποσὶν ἔσται οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Λιλυβαίου μόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων ὧν οὐδὲν προσῆκον ὑμῖν εἶτα ἀντέχεσθε."
18 Τοσαῦτα μὲν ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐδήλου. Γότθοι δὲ ἀνήνεγκάν τε ταῦτα ἐς τοῦ Ἀταλαρίχου τὴν μητέρα καὶ πρὸς τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιτεταγμένον
19 σφίσιν ἀπεκρίναντο ὧδε· "Τὰ γράμματα ἃ γέγραφας, ἄριστε Βελισάριε, παραίνεσιν μὲν ἀληθῆ φέρει, ἐς ἄλλους δὲ ἀνθρώπων τινάς, οὐκ
20 εἰς τοὺς Γότθους ἡμᾶς ἥκουσαν. ἡμεῖς γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ λαβόντες ἔχομεν, μή ποτε[1] οὕτω μανείημεν· Σικελίαν δὲ ξύμπασαν προσποιούμεθα ἡμετέραν οὖσαν, ἧς δὴ ἄκρα μία
21 τὸ ἐν Λιλυβαίῳ φρούριόν ἐστιν. εἰ δὲ Θευδέριχος τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῷ Βανδίλων βασιλεῖ ξυνοικοῦσαν τῶν τινι Σικελίας ἐμπορίων ἐκέλευσε χρῆσθαι,
22 οὐδὲν τοῦτο πρᾶγμα. οὐ γὰρ ἂν τοῦτο δικαιώματος ὑμῖν ὁτουοῦν ἀξίωσιν φέροι. σὺ μέντοι, ὦ στρατηγέ, πράττοις ἂν τὰ δίκαια πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἤν γε τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀντιλεγομένων τὴν διάλυσιν οὐχ ὡς πολέμιος, ἀλλ' ἅτε φίλος ποιεῖσθαι θέλοις.[2]
23 διαφέρει δέ, ὅτι οἱ μὲν φίλοι τὰ διάφορα ἐν τῇ

[1] μή ποτε PO : μήτε V.
[2] θέλοις P : θέλεις V, ἐθέλοις O.

the enemy fights to avenge the wrongs which it says have been done to its ancestors; and whereas, if friendship thus turned to hostility fails in the struggle, it suffers no loss of its own possessions, yet if it succeeds, it teaches the vanquished to take a new view of the indulgence which has been shewn them in the past. See to it, then, that you neither do us further harm nor suffer harm yourselves, and do not make the great emperor an enemy to the Gothic nation, when it is your prayer that he be propitious toward you. For be well assured that, if you lay claim to this fortress, war will confront you immediately, and not for Lilybaeum alone, but for all the possessions you claim as yours, though not one of them belongs to you."

Such was the message of the letter. And the Goths reported these things to the mother[1] of Antalaric, and at her direction made the following reply: "The letter which you have written, most excellent Belisarius, carries sound admonition, but pertinent to some other men, not to us the Goths. For there is nothing of the Emperor Justinian's which we have taken and hold; may we never be so mad as to do such a thing! The whole of Sicily we claim because it is our own, and the fortress of Lilybaeum is one of its promontories. And if Theoderic gave his sister, who was the consort of the king of the Vandals, one of the trading-ports of Sicily for her use, this is nothing. For this fact could not afford a basis for any claim on your part. But you, O General, would be acting justly toward us, if you should be willing to make the settlement of the matters in dispute between us, not as an enemy, but as a friend. And there is this difference, that friends

[1] Amalasountha.

διαίτη, οἱ δὲ πολέμιοι ἐν τῇ μάχῃ διακρίνειν πεφύ-
24 κασιν. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ
τούτων διαιτᾶν ἐπιτρέψομεν, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ
νόμιμά τε εἶναι καὶ δίκαια. βουλόμεθα δέ σε ὡς
βέλτιστα βουλεύσασθαι μᾶλλον[1] ἢ ὡς ταχύτατα
καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ σοῦ βασιλέως προσδέχεσθαι
γνῶσιν."[2] τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ἡ τῶν Γότθων γραφὴ
25 ἐδήλου. Βελισάριος δὲ ἀνενεγκὼν ἅπαντα ἐς
βασιλέα ἡσύχαζεν, ἕως αὐτῷ βασιλεὺς ἐπιστέλλοι
ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη.

VI

Φάρας δὲ τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἤδη ἄλλως τε καὶ
χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ ἀχθόμενος, ἅμα δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἂν οἰό-
μενος οἵους τε εἶναι τοὺς ἐκείνῃ Μαυρουσίους
ἐμποδὼν σφίσι στήσεσθαι, τῇ ἐς Παπούαν ἀνα-
βάσει ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἐπεχείρησεν. ἅπαντας
μὲν οὖν εὖ μάλα ἐξοπλίσας τοὺς ἑπομένους ἀνέ-
2 βαινε. βεβοηθηκότων δὲ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἅτε ἐν
χωρίῳ ἀνάντει τε καὶ λίαν δυσβάτῳ, ἡ κωλύμη[3]
3 εὐπετῶς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀνιόντας ἐγίνετο. καρτερῶς δὲ
τοῦ Φάρα βιαζομένου τὴν ἄνοδον, δέκα μὲν καὶ
ἑκατὸν τῶν ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ τούτῳ ἀπέ-
θανον, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἐπιλοίποις ἀποκρουσθεὶς
ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποπειράσασθαι μὲν
τῆς ἀνόδου, ἀντιστατοῦντος τοῦ πράγματος, οὐκ-
έτι ἐτόλμα, φυλακὴν δὲ κατεσπουδασμένην, ὡς
ἔνι μάλιστα, κατεστήσατο, ὅπως[4] οἱ πιεζόμενοι

[1] μᾶλλον added by Haury. [2] γνῶσιν PO : γνώμην V.
[3] κωλύμη VO : λύμη P. [4] ὅπως V : εἴπως PO Christ.

are accustomed to settle their disagreements by arbitration, but enemies by battle. We, therefore, shall commit this matter to the Emperor Justinian, to arbitrate[1] in whatever manner seems to him lawful and just. And we desire that the decisions you make shall be as wise as possible, rather than as hasty as possible, and that you, therefore, await the decision of your emperor." Such was the message of the letter of the Goths. And Belisarius, reporting all to the emperor, remained quiet until the emperor should send him word what his wish was.

VI

But Pharas, having by this time become weary of the siege for many reasons, and especially because of the winter season, and at the same time thinking that the Moors there would not be able to stand in his way, undertook the ascent of Papua with great zeal. Accordingly he armed all his followers very carefully and began the ascent. But the Moors rushed to the defence, and since they were on ground which was steep and very hard to traverse, their efforts to hinder those making the ascent were easily accomplished. But Pharas fought hard to force the ascent, and one hundred and ten of his men perished in this struggle, and he himself with the remainder was beaten back and retired; and as a result of this he did not dare to attempt the ascent again, since the situation was against him, but he established as careful a guard as

[1] The correspondence between Queen Amalasountha and Justinian is given in V. iii. 17.

τῷ λιμῷ οἱ ἐν Παπούᾳ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐγχειρισειαν,
καὶ οὔτε ἀποδιδράσκειν αὐτοῖς ἐνεδίδου οὔτε τι
4 τῶν ἔξωθεν ἐς αὐτοὺς φέρεσθαι. ἔνθα δὴ τῷ τε
Γελίμερι καὶ τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἀδελφιδοῖς τε καὶ
ἀνεψιαδοῖς οὖσι καὶ ἄλλοις[1] εὖ γεγονόσι ξυνέπεσε
κακοπαθείᾳ χρῆσθαι ἥν, ὅπως ποτὲ εἴποι τις, οὐκ
5 ἂν ὁμοίως τοῖς πράγμασι φράζοι. ἐθνῶν γὰρ
ἁπάντων ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἁβρότατον μὲν τὸ τῶν
Βανδίλων, ταλαιπωρότατον δὲ τὸ Μαυρουσίων
6 τετύχηκεν εἶναι. οἱ μὲν γάρ,[2] ἐξ ὅτου Λιβύην
ἔσχον, βαλανείοις τε οἱ ξύμπαντες ἐπεχρῶντο ἐς
ἡμέραν ἑκάστην καὶ τραπέζῃ ἅπασιν εὐθηνούσῃ
ὅσα δὴ γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα ἥδιστά τε καὶ ἄριστα
7 φέρει. ἐχρυσοφόρουν δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον, καὶ
Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα, ἣν νῦν Σηρικὴν καλοῦσιν, ἀμπ-
εχόμενοι, ἔν τε θεάτροις καὶ ἱπποδρομίοις καὶ τῇ
ἄλλῃ εὐπαθείᾳ, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα κυνηγεσίοις
8 τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιοῦντο. καὶ σφίσιν ὀρχησταὶ
καὶ μῖμοι ἀκούσματά τε συχνὰ καὶ θεάματα ἦν,
ὅσα μουσικά τε καὶ ἄλλως ἀξιοθέατα ξυμβαίνει
9 ἐν ἀνθρώποις εἶναι. καὶ ᾤκηντο μὲν αὐτῶν[3] οἱ
πολλοὶ ἐν παραδείσοις, ὑδάτων καὶ δένδρων εὖ
ἔχουσι· ξυμπόσια δὲ ὅτι πλεῖστα ἐποίουν, καὶ
ἔργα τὰ ἀφροδίσια πάντα αὐτοῖς ἐν μελέτῃ πολλῇ
10 ἤσκητο. Μαυρούσιοι δὲ οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἐν πνιγηραῖς
καλύβαις, χειμῶνί τε καὶ θέρους ὥρᾳ καὶ ἄλλῳ
τῷ ξύμπαντι χρόνῳ, οὔτε χιόσιν οὔτε ἡλίου θέρμῃ
ἐνθένδε οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῳοῦν ἀναγκαίῳ κακῷ ἐξιστά-

[1] ἄλλοις Maltretus : ἄλλως MSS. Christ.
[2] μὲν γὰρ P : μέντοι V, μέν γε O.
[3] αὐτῶν Hoeschel : αὐτοῖς MSS.

possible, in order that those on Papua, being pressed by hunger, might surrender themselves; and he neither permitted them to run away nor anything to be brought in to them from outside. Then, indeed, it came about that Gelimer and those about him, who were nephews and cousins of his and other persons of high birth, experienced a misery which no one could describe, however eloquent he might be, in a way which would equal the facts. For of all the nations which we know that of the Vandals is the most luxurious, and that of the Moors the most hardy. For the Vandals, since the time when they gained possession of Libya, used to indulge in baths, all of them, every day, and enjoyed a table abounding in all things, the sweetest and best that the earth and sea produce. And they wore gold very generally, and clothed themselves in the Medic garments, which now they call "seric,"[1] and passed their time, thus dressed, in theatres and hippodromes and in other pleasureable pursuits, and above all else in hunting. And they had dancers and mimes and all other things to hear and see which are of a musical nature or otherwise merit attention among men. And the most of them dwelt in parks, which were well supplied with water and trees; and they had great numbers of banquets, and all manner of sexual pleasures were in great vogue among them. But the Moors live in stuffy huts[2] both in winter and in summer and at every other time, never removing from them either because of snow or the heat of the sun or any other discomfort whatever

[1] In Latin *serica*, "silk," as coming from the Chinese (Seres).
[2] Cf. Thucydides' description of the huts in which the Athenians lived during the great plague.

11 μενοι. καθεύδουσι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κώδιον οἱ εὐ-
δαίμονες αὐτοῖς, ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ὑποστρωννύντες.
12 ἱμάτια δὲ σφίσιν οὐ ξυμμεταβάλλειν ταῖς ὥραις
νόμος, ἀλλὰ τριβώνιόν τε ἁδρὸν καὶ χιτῶνα
13 τραχὺν ἐς καιρὸν ἅπαντα ἐνδιδύσκονται. ἔχουσι
δὲ οὔτε ἄρτον οὔτε οἶνον οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἀγαθόν,
ἀλλὰ τὸν σῖτον, ἢ τὰς ὀλύρας τε καὶ κριθάς, οὔτε
ἕψοντες οὔτε ἐς ἄλευρα ἢ ἄλφιτα ἀλοῦντες[1]
οὐδὲν ἀλλοιότερον ἢ τὰ ἄλλα ζῷα ἐσθίουσι.
14 τοιούτοις δὴ οὖσι τοῖς Μαυρουσίοις οἱ ἀμφὶ τὸν
Γελίμερα συχνὸν ξυνοικήσαντες χρόνον τήν τε
ξυνειθισμένην αὐτοῖς δίαιταν ἐς τοῦτο ταλαιπω-
ρίας μεταβαλόντες, ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτὰ σφᾶς τὰ
ἀναγκαῖα ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, οὐκέτι ἀντεῖχον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὸ τεθνάναι αὐτοῖς ἥδιστον καὶ τὸ δουλεύειν
ἥκιστα αἰσχρὸν ἐνομίζετο.
15 Ὧν δὴ Φάρας αἰσθόμενος γράφει πρὸς Γελί-
μερα τάδε· "Εἰμὶ μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς βάρβαρος καὶ
γραμμάτων τε καὶ λόγων οὔτε ἐθὰς οὔτε ἄλλως
16 ἔμπειρος γέγονα. ὅσα δέ με ἄνθρωπον ὄντα
εἰδέναι ἀνάγκη, ἐκ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων φύσεως
17 ἐκμαθὼν ἔγραψα. τί ποτε ἄρα πεπονθώς, ὦ φίλε
Γελίμερ, οὐ σαυτὸν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ξύμπαν τὸ
σὸν γένος ἐς τὸ βάραθρον τοῦτο ἐμβέβληκας,
18 ὅπως δηλαδὴ μὴ γένοιο δοῦλος; πάντως γάρ σε
καὶ νεανιεύεσθαι τοῦτο οἶμαι, καὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
προΐσχεσθαι, ὡς δὴ ἅπαντα ταύτης τὰ μοχθηρὰ
19 ἀνταλλάσσεσθαι ἄξιον. εἶτα νῦν Μαυρουσίων
τοῖς γε ἀτυχεστάτοις οὐκ οἴει δουλεύειν, ὃς τὴν
ἐλπίδα τοῦ σώζεσθαι, ἢν τὰ κράτιστα φέρῃ, ἐπ'
20 αὐτοῖς ἔχεις; καίτοι πῶς ἂν οὐχὶ τῷ παντὶ

[1] ἀλοῦντες Herwerden: ἄγοντες MSS.

due to nature. And they sleep on the ground, the prosperous among them, if it should so happen, spreading a fleece under themselves. Moreover, it is not customary among them to change their clothing with the seasons, but they wear a thick cloak and a rough shirt at all times. And they have neither bread nor wine nor any other good thing, but they take grain, either wheat or barley, and, without boiling it or grinding it to flour or barley-meal, they eat it in a manner not a whit different from that of animals. Since the Moors, then, were of a such a sort, the followers of Gelimer, after living with them for a long time and changing their accustomed manner of life to such a miserable existence, when at last even the necessities of life had failed, held out no longer, but death was thought by them most sweet and slavery by no means disgraceful.

Now when this was learned by Pharas, he wrote to Gelimer as follows: "I too am a barbarian and not accustomed to writing and speaking, nor am I skilful in these matters. But that which I am forced as a man to know, having learned from the nature of things, this I am writing you. What in the world has happened to you, my dear Gelimer, that you have cast, not yourself alone, but your whole family besides, into this pit? Is it, forsooth, that you may avoid becoming a slave? But this is assuredly nothing but youthful folly, and making of 'liberty' a mere shibboleth, as though liberty were worth possessing at the price of all this misery! And, after all, do you not consider that you are, even now, a slave to the most wretched of the Moors, since your only hope of being saved, if the best happens, is in them? And yet why would it not be better in every way to

ἄμεινον εἴη δουλεύειν ἐν Ῥωμαίοις πτωχεύοντα ἢ
21 τυραννεῖν ἐν Παπούᾳ τε καὶ Μαυρουσίοις; πάν-
τως δέ σοι καὶ τὸ ξυνδούλῳ Βελισαρίῳ εἶναι
22 ὑπερβολή τις ὕβρεως φαίνεται. ἄπαγε, ὦ βέλ-
τιστε Γελίμερ. ἢ οὐ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν
γεγονότες βασιλεῖ νῦν ὑπηρετεῖν αὐχοῦμεν; καὶ
μὴν λέγουσιν Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ βουλομένῳ
εἶναι ἔς τε βουλὴν ἀνάγραπτόν σε ποιήσασθαι,
τιμῆς μεταλαχόντα τῆς ἀνωτάτω, ἣν δὴ πατρι-
κίων καλοῦσι, καὶ χώρᾳ πολλῇ τε καὶ ἀγαθῇ καὶ
χρήμασι μεγάλοις δωρήσασθαι, Βελισάριόν τε
ἐθέλειν ἀναδέχεσθαι πάντα ταῦτα ἔσεσθαί σοι,
23 πίστεις διδόντα.[1] σὺ δὲ ὅσα μὲν ἡ τύχη μοχθηρὰ
ἤνεγκε, φέρειν γενναίως οἷός τε εἶ πάντα τὰ
ἐνθένδε ἀνθρώπῳ γε ὄντι ἀναγκαῖα εἶναι οἰόμενος.
24 ἢν δέ τινι ἀγαθῷ τὰ δυσχερῆ ταῦτα ξυγκεραν-
νύειν βεβούλευται, τοῦτο δὲ[2] αὐτὸς ἐθελούσιος
δέξασθαι οὐκ ἂν ἀξιοίης; ἢ οὐχ ὁμοίως τοῖς φλαύ-
ροις ἀναγκαῖά γε ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης
ἀγαθὰ λογιστέον; ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ τοῖς
25 σφόδρα ἀνοήτοις δοκεῖ. σοὶ δὲ νῦν μὲν βεβαπτισ-
μένῳ ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς, ἀξυνέτῳ, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, συμ-
26 βαίνει εἶναι· ἀθυμία γὰρ ἐκπλήξασα εἰς ἀβουλίαν
τρέπεσθαι πέφυκεν· ἢν δὲ φέρειν τὴν διάνοιαν
τὴν σαυτοῦ δύναιο καὶ μὴ πρὸς τύχην μεταβαλ-
λομένην ἀγανακτεῖν, παρέσται σοι αὐτίκα δὴ
μάλα τά τε ξύμφορα ἑλέσθαι ἅπαντα καὶ τῶν
ἐπικειμένων ἀπηλλάχθαι κακῶν."

[1] διδόντα VP: διδόντι O. [2] δὲ PO: δὴ V.

be a slave among the Romans and beggared, than to be monarch on Mount Papua with Moors as your subjects? But of course it seems to you the very height of disgrace even to be a fellow slave with Belisarius! Away with the thought, most excellent Gelimer. Are not we,[1] who also are born of noble families, proud that we are now in the service of an emperor? And indeed they say that it is the wish of the Emperor Justinian to have you enrolled in the senate, thus sharing in the highest honour and being a patrician, as we term that rank, and to present you with lands both spacious and good and with great sums of money, and that Belisarius is willing to make himself responsible for your having all these things, and to give you pledges. Now as for all the miseries which fortune has brought you, you are able to bear with fortitude whatever comes from her, knowing that you are but a man and that these things are inevitable; but if fortune has purposed to temper these adversities with some admixture of good, would you of yourself refuse to accept this gladly? Or should we consider that the good gifts of fortune are not just as inevitable as are her undesirable gifts? Yet such is not the opinion of even the utterly senseless; but you, it would seem, have now lost your good judgment, steeped as you are in misfortunes. Indeed, discouragement is wont to confound the mind and to be transformed to folly. If, however, you can bear your own thoughts and refrain from rebelling against fortune when she changes, it will be possible at this very moment for you to choose that which will be wholly to your advantage, and to escape from the evils which hang over you."

[1] Pharas and the other Eduli.

27 Ταῦτα Γελίμερ τὰ γράμματα ἀναλεξάμενος
ἀποκλαύσας τε δεινῶς ἀντέγραψεν ὧδε· "Καὶ τῆς
ξυμβουλῆς ἥν μοι ἐποιήσω πολλὴν ἔχω σοι χάριν
καὶ πολεμίῳ ἀδικοῦντι δουλεύειν οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν
οἶμαι, παρ' οὗ ἂν δίκην εὐξαίμην λαβεῖν, εἴ μοι ὁ
θεὸς ἵλεως εἴη, ὅς γε οὐδὲν πώποτε ἄχαρι πρὸς
ἐμοῦ οὔτε ἔργῳ παθὼν οὔτε λόγῳ ἀκούσας πολέ-
μῳ μὲν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἔχοντι παρέσχετο σκῆψιν, ἐμὲ
δὲ ἐς τοῦτο μετήνεγκε τύχης, Βελισάριον οὐκ οἶδα
28 ὅθεν ἐπενεγκών. καίτοι καὶ αὐτῷ ἀνθρώπῳ γε
ὄντι, καὶ βασιλεῖ οὐδὲν ἀπεικὸς ξυμβήσεσθαί τι
29 ὧν οὐκ ἂν ἕλοιτο. ἐγὼ μέντοι περαιτέρω τι
γράφειν οὐκ ἔχω. ἀφείλετο γάρ με τὴν ἔν-
30 νοιαν ἡ παροῦσα τύχη. ἀλλὰ χαῖρέ μοι, ὦ
φίλε Φάρα, καί μοι κιθάραν τε καὶ ἄρτον
31 ἕνα καὶ σπόγγον δεομένῳ πέμπε." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ
ἀπενεχθέντα ὁ Φάρας ἔγνω, χρόνον δή τινα διη-
πορεῖτο τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον συμ-
βαλεῖν οὐκ ἔχων, ἕως οἱ ὁ ταύτην κομίσας ἔφρα-
σεν ὡς ἄρτου μὲν ἑνὸς δέοιτο Γελίμερ, ἐπιθυμῶν
ἐς θέαν τε αὐτοῦ ἀφικέσθαι καὶ βρῶσιν, ἐπεὶ ἐξ
οὗ ἐς Παπούαν ἀναβέβηκεν, οὐδένα που ἄρτον
32 ὠπτημένον εἶδε. σπόγγος δέ οἱ ἀναγκαῖος εἴη·
τοῖν γάρ οἱ ὀφθαλμοῖν ἅτερος, τραχυνόμενος τῇ
33 ἀλουσίᾳ, ἐς ἄγαν ἐπῆρται. κιθαριστῇ δὲ ἀγαθῷ
ὄντι ᾠδή τις αὐτῷ ἐς ξυμφορὰν τὴν παροῦσαν
πεποίηται, ἣν δὴ πρὸς κιθάραν θρηνῆσαί τε καὶ
34 ἀποκλαῦσαι ἐπείγεται. ταῦτα ἀκούσας Φάρας
περιαλγήσας τε καὶ τύχην τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἀπο-
λοφυράμενος κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα ἐποίει καὶ

When Gelimer had read this letter and wept bitterly over it, he wrote in reply as follows: "I am both deeply grateful to you for the advice which you have given me and I also think it unbearable to be a slave to an enemy who wrongs me, from whom I should pray God to exact justice, if He should be propitious to me,—an enemy who, though he had never experienced any harm from me either in deeds which he suffered or in words which he heard, provided a pretext for a war which was unprovoked, and reduced me to this state of misfortune, bringing Belisarius against me from I know not where. And yet it is not at all unlikely that he also, since he is but a man, though he be emperor too, may have something befall him which he would not choose. But as for me, I am not able to write further. For my present misfortune has robbed me of my thoughts. Farewell, then, dear Pharas, and send me a lyre and one loaf of bread and a sponge, I pray you." When this reply was read by Pharas, he was at a loss for some time, being unable to understand the final words of the letter, until he who had brought the letter explained that Gelimer desired one loaf because he was eager to enjoy the sight of it and to eat it, since from the time when he went up upon Papua he had not seen a single baked loaf. A sponge also was necessary for him; for one of his eyes, becoming irritated by lack of washing, was greatly swollen. And being a skilful harpist he had composed an ode relating to his present misfortune, which he was eager to chant to the accompaniment of a lyre while he wept out his soul. When Pharas heard this, he was deeply moved, and lamenting the fortune of men, he did as was written and sent all

πάντα ἔπεμπεν ὅσων αὐτοῦ ἔχρῃζε Γελίμερ. τῆς μέντοι προσεδρείας οὐδὲν μεθιεὶς ἐφύλασσε μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον.

VII

Ἤδη δὲ τριῶν μηνῶν χρόνος ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ προσεδρείᾳ ἐτρίβη καὶ ὁ χειμὼν ἐτελεύτα. καὶ ὁ Γελίμερ ἐδεδίει, τοὺς πολιορκοῦντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀναβήσεσθαι ὑποτοπάζων· καὶ τῶν οἱ συγγενῶν παιδίων τὰ πλεῖστα σώματα σκώληκας ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ ἠφίει.
2 καὶ ἐν ἅπασι μὲν περιώδυνος ἦν, ἐς ἅπαντα δέ, πλήν γε δὴ τοῦ θνήσκειν, δυσάρεστος, τῇ μέντοι κακοπαθείᾳ παρὰ δόξαν ἀντεῖχεν, ἕως οἱ θέαμα
3 ἰδεῖν ξυνηνέχθη τοιόνδε. γυνή τις Μαυρουσία σῖτον ὀλίγον ἀμωσγέπως ξυγκοψαμένη, μᾶζαν δὲ ἐνθένδε βραχεῖαν κομιδῇ ποιησαμένη ἐς ζέουσαν τὴν σποδιὰν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάρᾳ ἐνέβαλεν. οὕτω γὰρ νόμος ἐν Μαυρουσίοις τοὺς ἄρτους ὀπτᾶσθαι.
4 παρὰ ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἐσχάραν δύο παῖδε καθημένω καὶ τῷ λιμῷ ὑπεράγαν βιαζομένω, ἅτερος μὲν αὐτῆς τῆς ἀνθρώπου υἱὸς ἧ τὴν μᾶζαν ἐμβεβλημένη ἐτύγχανεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος Γελίμερος ἀδελφιδοῦς ὤν, ἐβουλέσθην ταύτην δὴ τὴν μᾶζαν ἁρπάσασθαι, ἐπειδὰν αὐτοῖς[1] τάχιστα ὠπτῆσθαι
5 δοκῇ. τούτοιν τοῖν παίδοιν ὁ μὲν Βανδίλος προτερήσας ἔφθασέ τε τὴν μᾶζαν ἁρπάσας καὶ ζέουσαν ἔτι ὡς μάλιστα σποδιᾶς τε ἀνάπλεων οὖσαν, ὑπερβιαζομένου αὐτὸν τοῦ λιμοῦ, ἐς τὸ στόμα ἐμβαλόμενος ἤσθιεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος λαβόμενος αὐτοῦ

[1] αὐτοῖς VP : αὐτῇ O.

the things which Gelimer desired of him. However he relaxed the siege not a whit, but kept watch more closely than before.

VII

And already a space of three months had been spent in this siege and the winter was coming to an end. And Gelimer was afraid, suspecting that his besiegers would come up against him after no great time; and the bodies of most of the children who were related to him[1] were discharging worms in this time of misery. And though in everything he was deeply distressed, and looked upon everything,—except, indeed, death,—with dissatisfaction, he nevertheless endured the suffering beyond all expectation, until it happened that he beheld a sight such as the following. A certain Moorish woman had managed somehow to crush a little corn, and making of it a very tiny cake, threw it into the hot ashes on the hearth. For thus it is the custom among the Moors to bake their loaves. And beside this hearth two children were sitting, in exceedingly great distress by reason of their hunger, the one being the son of the very woman who had thrown in the cake, and the other a nephew of Gelimer; and they were eager to seize the cake as soon as it should seem to them to be cooked. And of the two children the Vandal got ahead of the other and snatched the cake first, and, though it was still exceedingly hot and covered with ashes, hunger overpowered him, and he threw it into his mouth and was eating it, when the other seized him by the hair of the head

[1] Cf. ch. vi. 4.

τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν ἐπάταξέ τε κατὰ κόρρης καὶ αὖθις ῥαπίσας ἠνάγκασε τὴν μᾶζαν ξὺν βίᾳ πολλῇ ἀποβαλεῖν ἤδη ἐν τῇ φάρυγγι οὖσαν.
6 τοῦτο τὸ πάθος οὐκ ἐνεγκὼν Γελίμερ (παρηκολούθει γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἅπασιν) ἐθηλύνθη τε τὴν διάνοιαν καὶ πρὸς Φάραν ὡς τάχιστα ἔγραψε
7 τάδε· "Εἴ τινι καὶ ἄλλῳ τετύχηκε πώποτε τὰ δεινὰ καρτερήσαντι ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἰέναι τῶν πρόσθεν αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων, τοιοῦτον δή τινα καὶ
8 ἐμὲ νόμιζε εἶναι, ὦ βέλτιστε Φάρα. εἰσῆλθε γάρ με ἡ σὴ ξυμβουλή, ἣν δὴ ἀλογῆσαι ἥκιστα βούλομαι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀντιτείνοιμι περαιτέρω τῇ τύχῃ οὐδὲ πρὸς τὴν πεπρωμένην ζυγομαχοίην, ἀλλ' ἕψομαι αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, ὅπῃ ἂν αὐτῇ ἐξηγεῖσθαι δοκῇ· ὅπως μέντοι τὰ πιστὰ λάβοιμι, ἀναδέχεσθαι Βελισάριον βασιλέα ποιήσειν ἅπαν-
9 τα ὅσα μοι ἔναγχος ὑπεδέξω. ἐγὼ γάρ, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα τὴν πίστιν δοίητε, ἐμαυτόν τε ὑμῖν ἐγχειριῶ καὶ συγγενεῖς τούσδε καὶ Βανδίλους ὅσοι ξὺν ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθά εἰσι."

10 Τοσαῦτα μὲν τῷ Γελίμερι ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τῇδε ἐγέγραπτο. Φάρας δὲ ταῦτά τε Βελισαρίῳ καὶ τὰ πρότερον γεγραμμένα σφίσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους σημήνας ἐδεῖτο ὡς τάχιστά οἱ δηλῶσαι ὅ τι ἂν
11 αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη. Βελισάριος δὲ (καὶ γάρ οἱ ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μεγάλῃ ἦν ζῶντα Γελίμερα βασιλεῖ ἀγαγεῖν), ἐπεὶ τάχιστα τὰ γράμματα ἀνελέξατο,[1] περιχαρής τε ἐγεγόνει καὶ Κυπριανὸν φοιδεράτων ἄρχοντα ἐς Παπούαν ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι ξὺν ἄλλοις τισίν, ὅρκους τε αὐτοῖς ἐπέστελλε περὶ σωτηρίας Γελίμερός τε καὶ τῶν ξὺν αὐτῷ διδόναι, καὶ

[1] ἀνελέξατο PO: ἀνεδέξατο V.

and struck him over the temple and beat him again and thus compelled him with great violence to cast out the cake which was already in his throat. This sad experience Gelimer could not endure (for he had followed all from the beginning), and his spirit was weakened and he wrote as quickly as possible to Pharas as follows: "If it has ever happened to any man, after manfully enduring terrible misfortunes, to take a course contrary to that which he had previously determined upon, consider me to be such a one, O most excellent Pharas. For there has come to my mind your advice, which I am far from wishing to disregard. For I cannot resist fortune further nor rebel against fate, but I shall follow straightway wherever it seems to her best to lead; but let me receive the pledges, that Belisarius guarantees that the emperor will do everything which you recently promised me. For I, indeed, as soon as you give the pledges, shall put both myself into your hands and these kinsmen of mine and the Vandals, as many as are here with us."

Such were the words written by Gelimer in this letter. And Pharas, having signified this to Belisarius, as well as what they had previously written to each other, begged him to declare as quickly as possible what his wish was. And Belisarius (since he was greatly desirous of leading Gelimer alive to the emperor), as soon as he had read the letter, became overjoyed and commanded Cyprian, a leader of foederati,[1] to go to Papua with certain others, and directed them to give an oath concerning the safety of Gelimer and of those with him, and to swear that

[1] "Auxiliaries"; see Book III. xi. 3.

ὡς ἐπίτιμός τε παρὰ βασιλεῖ καὶ οὐδενὸς ἐνδεὴς
12 εἴη. οἵπερ ἐπεὶ παρὰ τὸν Φάραν ἀφίκοντο, ἦλθον
ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔς τι χωρίον παρὰ τὸν τοῦ ὄρους πρόποδα, ἔνθα σφίσι Γελίμερ μετάπεμπτος ἦλθε καὶ τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν ᾗπερ ἐβούλετο ἐς Καρχηδόνα
13 σὺν αὐτοῖς ἥκεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Βελισάριος διατριβήν τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πόλεως προαστείῳ ποιού-
14 μενος, ὅπερ Ἄκλας καλοῦσιν. ἔνθα δὴ ὁ Γελίμερ
παρ' αὐτὸν εἰσῆλθε, γελῶν γέλωτα οὔτε φαῦλον οὔτε κρύπτεσθαι ἱκανὸν ὄντα, τῶν τε αὐτὸν θεωμένων ἔνιοι μὲν τῇ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολῇ ἁπάντων τε αὐτὸν ἐκστῆναι τῶν κατὰ φύσιν ὑπώπτευον καὶ παραπαίοντα ἤδη λόγῳ οὐδενὶ τὸν γέλωτα
15 ἔχειν. οἱ μέντοι φίλοι ἀγχίνουν τε τὸν ἄνθρωπον
ἐβούλοντο εἶναι καὶ ἅτε οἰκίας μὲν βασιλικῆς γεγονότα, εἰς βασιλείαν δὲ ἀναβεβηκότα, καὶ δύναμίν τε ἰσχυρὰν χρήματά τε μεγάλα ἐκ παιδὸς ἄχρι καὶ ἐς γῆρας περιβαλόμενον, εἶτα εἰς φυγήν τε καὶ δέος πολὺ ἐμπεσόντα καὶ κακοπάθειαν τὴν ἐν Παπούᾳ ὑποστάντα, καὶ νῦν ἐν αἰχμαλώτων λόγῳ ἥκοντα, πάντων τε ταύτῃ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς τύχης ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ φλαύρων ἐν πείρᾳ γεγονότα, ἄλλου οὐδενὸς ἄξια τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἢ γέλωτος
16 πολλοῦ οἴεσθαι εἶναι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦ γέλωτος
ὃν Γελίμερ ἐγέλα, λεγέτω ὥς πη ἕκαστος γινώ-
17 σκει, καὶ ἐχθρὸς καὶ φίλος. Βελισάριος δὲ ἐς
βασιλέα ὡς Γελίμερ δορυάλωτος εἴη ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀνενεγκὼν ᾔτει ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικέσθαι. ἅμα δὲ αὐτόν τε καὶ Βανδίλους ἅπαντας οὐκ ἐν ἀτιμίᾳ ἐφύλασσε καὶ τὸν στόλον ἐν παρασκευῇ ἐποιεῖτο.

he would be honoured before the emperor and would lack nothing. And when these men had come to Pharas, they went with him to a certain place by the foot of the mountain, where Gelimer came at their summons, and after receiving the pledges just as he wished he came with them to Carthage. And it happened that Belisarius was staying for a time in the suburb of the city which they call Aclas. Accordingly Gelimer came before him in that place, laughing with such laughter as was neither moderate nor the kind one could conceal, and some of those who were looking at him suspected that by reason of the extremity of his affliction he had changed entirely from his natural state and that, already beside himself, he was laughing for no reason. But his friends would have it that the man was in his sound mind, and that because he had been born in a royal family, and had ascended the throne, and had been clothed with great power and immense wealth from childhood even to old age, and then being driven to flight and plunged into great fear had undergone the sufferings on Papua, and now had come as a captive, having in this way had experience of all the gifts of fortune, both good and evil, for this reason, they believed, he thought that man's lot was worthy of nothing else than much laughter. Now concerning this laughter of Gelimer's, let each one speak according to his judgment, both enemy and friend. But Belisarius, reporting to the emperor that Gelimer was a captive in Carthage, asked permission to bring him to Byzantium with him. At the same time he guarded both him and all the Vandals in no dishonour and proceeded to put the fleet in readiness.

18 Πολλὰ μὲν οὖν καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῷ παντὶ αἰῶνι
ἤδη τε κρείσσω ἐλπίδος ἐς πεῖραν ἦλθε[1] καὶ ἀεὶ
19 ἥξει,[2] ἕως ἂν αἱ αὐταὶ τύχαι ἀνθρώπων ὦσι· τά
τε γὰρ λόγῳ ἀδύνατα δοκοῦντα εἶναι ἔργῳ ἐπιτελῆ
γίγνεται καὶ τὰ τέως ἀδύνατα φανέντα πολλάκις,
20 εἶτα ἀποβάντα θαύματος ἄξια ἔδοξεν εἶναι· εἰ
μέντοι τοιαῦτα ἔργα πώποτε γεγενῆσθαι τετύχη-
κεν οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, τὸν Γιζερίχου τέταρτον ἀπό-
γονον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν αὐτοῦ πλούτῳ τε
καὶ στρατιωτῶν δυνάμει ἀκμάζουσαν πρὸς πεντα-
κισχιλίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπηλύδων τε καὶ οὐκ ἐχόντων
ὅποι ὁρμίζοιντο ἐν χρόνῳ οὕτω βραχεῖ καταλε-
21 λύσθαι. τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἦν τὸ τῶν ἱππέων πλῆθος
τῶν Βελισαρίῳ ἐπισπομένων, οἳ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον
πάντα πρὸς Βανδίλους διήνεγκαν. τοῦτο γὰρ
εἴτε τύχῃ εἴτε τινὶ ἀρετῇ γέγονε, δικαίως ἄν τις
αὐτὸ ἀγασθείη. ἐγὼ δὲ ὅθενπερ ἐξέβην ἐπάνειμι.

VIII

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Βανδιλικὸς πόλεμος ἐτελεύτα ὧδε.
ὁ δὲ φθόνος, οἷα ἐν μεγάλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ φιλεῖ γί-
γνεσθαι, ᾤδαινεν[3] ἤδη ἐς Βελισάριον, καίπερ αὐτῷ[4]
2 οὐδεμίαν παρέχοντα[5] σκῆψιν. τῶν γὰρ ἀρχόν-
των τινὲς διέβαλον αὐτὸν ἐς βασιλέα, τυραννίδα

[1] ἦλθον V. [2] ἥξειν O.
[3] ᾤδαινεν Haury : ὤδινεν MSS.
[4] αὐτῷ VP : αὐτοῦ O.
[5] παρέχοντα P : παρέχοντι V, παρέχοντος O.

Now many other things too great to be hoped for have before now been experienced in the long course of time, and they will continue as long as the fortunes of men are the same as they now are; for those things which seem to reason impossible are actually accomplished, and many times those things which previously appeared impossible, when they have befallen, have seemed to be worthy of wonder; but whether such events as these ever took place before I am not able to say, wherein the fourth descendant of Gizeric, and his kingdom at the height of its wealth and military strength, were completely undone in so short a time by five thousand men coming in as invaders and having not a place to cast anchor. For such was the number of the horsemen who followed Belisarius, and carried through the whole war against the Vandals. For whether this happened by chance or because of some kind of valour, one would justly marvel at it. But I shall return to the point from which I have strayed.

VIII

So the Vandalic war ended thus. But envy, as is wont to happen in cases of great good fortune, was already swelling against Belisarius, although he provided no pretext for it. For some of the officers slandered him to the emperor, charging him, without any grounds whatever, with seeking to set up a kingdom for himself,[1] a statement for which there

[1] *i.e.* there in Africa, as successor to the throne of the Vandal kings.

3 αὐτῷ οὐδαμόθεν προσήκουσαν ἐπικαλοῦντες. βα-
σιλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ πᾶν οὐκ ἐξήνεγκεν, ἢ
τὴν διαβολὴν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ ποιησάμενος, ἢ καὶ
4 βέλτιον αὐτῷ ἐνομίσθη. Σολόμωνα δὲ πέμψας
αἵρεσιν Βελισαρίῳ παρέσχετο ἑλέσθαι ὁποτέραν
ἂν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ εἴη, πότερα ξὺν Γελίμερί τε
καὶ Βανδίλοις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἥκειν, ἢ αὐτοῦ μένοντι
5 ἐκείνους στεῖλαι. ὁ δὲ (οὐ γὰρ ἔλαθον αὐτὸν οἱ
ἄρχοντες τὴν τυραννίδα ἐπενεγκόντες) ἐς Βυζάν-
τιον ἀφικέσθαι ἠπείγετο, ὅπως δὴ τήν τε αἰτίαν
ἐκλύσηται καὶ τοὺς διαβαλόντας μετελθεῖν δύνη-
ται. ὅτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ τὴν τῶν κατηγόρων πεῖραν
6 ἔμαθεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι. ὅτε δὴ τὴν διαβολὴν
τήνδε ποιεῖσθαι οἱ διαβαλόντες ἤθελον, δείσαντες
μὴ σφίσιν ὁ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν μέλλων κομιεῖν βα-
σιλεῖ ἐν θαλάσσῃ ἀφανισθεὶς τὰ πρασσόμενα
διακωλύσῃ, ἐν δύο γραμματείοις τὴν τυραννίδα
γράψαντες, ἀγγέλους δύο ὡς βασιλέα ἐν ναυσὶ
7 δύο στέλλειν διενοοῦντο. τούτοιν ἅτερος μὲν λα-
θὼν ἔπλευσεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἐξ ὑποψίας δή τινος ἐν
Μανδρακίῳ ἥλω, καὶ τὰ γράμματα τοῖς λαβοῦσιν
αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσας ἔκπυστα ἐποίει τὰ πρασσόμενα.
8 ταύτῃ[1] τε μαθὼν Βελισάριος ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τὴν
βασιλέως, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, ἠπείγετο. ταῦτα μὲν
δὴ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

9 Μαυρούσιοι δὲ ὅσοι ἔν τε Βυζακίῳ καὶ Νου-
μιδίᾳ ᾤκηντο, ἐς ἀπόστασίν τε ἐξ αἰτίας οὐδεμιᾶς
εἶδον καὶ τὰς σπονδὰς διαλύσαντες χεῖρας ἀνταί-
ρειν ἐξαπιναίως Ῥωμαίοις ἔγνωσαν. καὶ τοῦτο
οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου τοῦ οἰκείου σφίσιν ἐπράσσετο.
10 ἔστι γὰρ ἐν Μαυρουσίοις οὔτε θεοῦ φόβος οὔτε ἀν-

[1] ταύτῃ VP : ταῦτα O.

was no basis whatever. But the emperor did not disclose these things to the world, either because he paid no heed to the slander, or because this course seemed better to him. But he sent Solomon and gave Belisarius the opportunity to choose whichever of two things he desired, either to come to Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, or to remain there and send them. And Belisarius, since it did not escape him that the officers were bringing against him the charge of seeking supreme power, was eager to get to Byzantium, in order that he might clear himself of the charge and be able to proceed against his slanderers. Now as to the manner in which he learned of the attempt of his accusers, I shall explain. When those who denounced him wished to present this slander, fearing lest the man who was to carry their letter to the emperor should be lost at sea and thus put a stop to their proceedings, they wrote the aforesaid accusation on two tablets, purposing to send two messengers to the emperor in two ships. And one of these two sailed away without being detected, but the second, on account of some suspicion or other, was captured in Mandracium, and putting the writing into the hands of his captors, he made known what was being done. So Belisarius, having learned in this way, was eager to come before the emperor, as has been said. Such, then, was the course of these events at Carthage.

But the Moors who dwelt in Byzacium and in Numidia turned to revolt for no good reason, and they decided to break the treaty and to rise suddenly against the Romans. And this was not out of keeping with their peculiar character. For there is among the Moors neither fear of God nor respect for men.

θρώπων αἰδώς. μέλει γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὔτε ὅρκων οὔτε
ὁμήρων, ἢν καὶ παῖδες ἢ ἀδελφοὶ τῶν ἐν σφίσιν
11 ἡγουμένων τύχωσιν ὄντες. οὐδὲ ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ
εἰρήνη ἐν Μαυρουσίοις, ὅτι μὴ τῶν πολεμίων τῶν
κατ' αὐτῶν δέει κρατύνεται. ὅτῳ[1] δὲ αὐτοῖς αἵ
τε πρὸς Βελισάριον σπονδαὶ ἐγένοντο καὶ ὅτῳ
12 διελύθησαν τρόπῳ, ἐγὼ δηλώσω. ἡνίκα ὁ βασι-
λέως στόλος ἐπίδοξος ἐγεγόνει ὡς ἐς Λιβύην
ἀφίξεται, δείσαντες οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μή τι ἐνθένδε
κακὸν λάβωσι ταῖς ἐκ τῶν γυναικῶν μαντείαις
13 ἐχρῶντο. ἄνδρα γὰρ μαντεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔθνει
τούτῳ οὐ θέμις, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκες σφίσι κάτοχοι ἐκ
δή τινος ἱερουργίας γινόμεναι προλέγουσι τὰ
ἐσόμενα, τῶν πάλαι χρηστηρίων οὐδενὸς ἧσσον.
14 τότε οὖν πυνθανομένοις αὐτοῖς, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, αἱ
γυναῖκες ἀνεῖλον, στρατὸν ἐξ ὑδάτων, Βανδίλων
κατάλυσιν, Μαυρουσίων φθοράν τε καὶ ἧτταν,
15 ὅτε Ῥωμαίοις ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀγένειος ἔλθοι. ταῦτα
ἀκούσαντες οἱ Μαυρούσιοι, ἐπεὶ τὸ βασιλέως
στράτευμα εἶδον ἐκ θαλάσσης ἧκον, ἐν δέει τε
μεγάλῳ ἐγένοντο καὶ ξυμμαχεῖν Βανδίλοις ἥκιστα
ἤθελον, ἀλλ' ἐς Βελισάριον πέμψαντες καὶ τὴν
εἰρήνην, ὡς πρόσθεν δεδήλωται, κρατυνάμενοι
ἡσύχαζόν τε καὶ τὸ μέλλον ὅπῃ ἐκβήσεται
16 ἐκαραδόκουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ Βανδίλων τὰ πράγματα
ἤδη ἐς πέρας ἀφῖκτο, πέμπουσιν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων
στράτευμα, διερευνώμενοι εἴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐν ἀρχῇ
17 ἀγένειός ἐστιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντας πώγωνος ἑώρων
ἐμπιπλαμένους, οὐ χρόνον τὸν παρόντα τὸ μαν-
τεῖον σημαίνειν σφίσιν ᾤοντο, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς
γενεαῖς ὕστερον, ταύτῃ τὸ λόγιον ἑρμηνεύοντες, ᾗ

[1] ὅτῳ V : ὅπως PO.

For they care not either for oaths or for hostages, even though the hostages chance to be the children or brothers of their leaders. Nor is peace maintained among the Moors by any other means than by fear of the enemies opposing them. Now I shall set forth in what manner the treaty was made by them with Belisarius and how it was broken. When it came to be expected that the emperor's expedition would arrive in Libya, the Moors, fearing lest they should receive some harm from it, consulted the oracles of their women. For it is not lawful in this nation for a man to utter oracles, but the women among them as a result of some sacred rites become possessed and foretell the future, no less than any of the ancient oracles. So on that occasion, when they made enquiry, as has been said, the women gave the response: "There shall be a host from the waters, the overthrow of the Vandals, destruction and defeat of the Moors, when the general of the Romans shall come unbearded." When the Moors heard this, since they saw that the emperor's army had come from the sea, they began to be in great fear and were quite unwilling to fight in alliance with the Vandals, but they sent to Belisarius and established peace, as has been stated previously,[1] and then remained quiet and waited for the future, to see how it would fall out. And when the power of the Vandals had now come to an end, they sent to the Roman army, investigating whether there was anyone unbearded among them holding an office. And when they saw all wearing full beards, they thought that the oracle did not indicate the present time to them, but one many generations later, interpreting the saying in

[1] Book III. xxv. 2–4.

18 *αὐτοὶ ἤθελον. αὐτίκα μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν διάλυσιν*
τῶν σπονδῶν ὥρμηντο, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκ Βελισαρίου
19 *δέος αὐτοὺς διεκώλυεν. οὐ γάρ ποτε πολέμῳ*
Ῥωμαίων περιέσεσθαι, παρόντος γε αὐτοῦ, ἐν
20 *ἐλπίδι εἶχον. ὡς δὲ τὴν ἄφοδον αὐτοῦ σὺν τοῖς*
ὑπασπισταῖς τοῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ δορυφόροις ποιεῖσθαι
ἤκουσαν, ἤδη τε τὰς ναῦς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τε καὶ Βαν-
δίλων πληροῦσθαι ἐπύθοντο, τὰ ὅπλα ἐξαπιναίως
ἀράμενοι ἅπασαν κακοῦ ἰδέαν ἐς τοὺς Λίβυας
21 *ἐπεδείξαντο. οἱ γὰρ στρατιῶται ὀλίγοι τε ἐν*
ἑκάστῃ ἐσχατιᾶς χώρᾳ καὶ ἔτι ἀπαράσκευοι
ὄντες, καταθέουσιν οὐκ ἂν εἶχον[1] *πανταχόσε τοῖς*
βαρβάροις ἀνθίστασθαι, οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπεκδρομὰς
συχνάς τε καὶ οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς γινομένας
22 *διακωλύσειν. ἀλλ᾽ ἄνδρες μὲν οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ*
ἐκτείνοντο, γυναῖκες δὲ σὺν παισὶν ἐν ἀνδραπόδων
λόγῳ ἐγίνοντο, τά τε χρήματα ἐκ πάσης ἐσχατιᾶς
ἤγετο καὶ φυγῆς ἡ χώρα ξύμπασα ὑπεπίμπλατο.
ταῦτα Βελισαρίῳ ἤδη που ἀναγομένῳ ἠγγέλλετο.
23 *καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀναστρέφειν οὐκέτι εἶχε, Σολόμωνι*
δὲ διέπειν τὸ Λιβύης κράτος παρείχετο, ἀπολέξας
καὶ τῶν ὑπασπιστῶν τε καὶ δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ
μέρος τὸ πλεῖστον, ὥστε Σολόμωνι ἑπομένους
Μαυρουσίων ὅτι τάχιστα τοὺς ἐπαναστάντας
τῆς ἐς Ῥωμαίους ἀδικίας σὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ
24 *τίσασθαι. καὶ βασιλεὺς δὲ στρατιὰν ἄλλην*
Σολόμωνι ἔπεμψε, ξὺν Θεοδώρῳ τε τῷ ἐκ Καππα-
δοκίας καὶ Ἰλδίγερι· ὃς δὴ Ἀντωνίνης γαμβρὸς
25 *τῆς Βελισαρίου γυναικὸς ἦν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ*
Λιβύης χωρίων τοὺς φόρους οὐκέτι ἦν ἐν γραμ-
ματείοις τεταγμένους εὑρεῖν, ᾗπερ αὐτοὺς ἀπε-

[1] ἂν εἶχον Hoeschel in marg. : ἀντεῖχον MSS.

that way which they themselves wished. Immediately, therefore, they were eager to break the treaty, but their fear of Belisarius prevented them. For they had no hope that they would ever overcome the Romans in war, at least with him present. But when they heard that he was making his departure together with his guards and spearmen, and that the ships were already being filled with them and the Vandals, they suddenly rose in arms and displayed every manner of outrage upon the Libyans. For the soldiers were both few in each place on the frontier and still unprepared, so that they would not have been able to stand against the barbarians as they made inroads at every point, nor to prevent their incursions, which took place frequently and not in an open manner. But men were being killed indiscriminately and women with their children were being made slaves, and the wealth was being plundered from every part of the frontier and the whole country was being filled with fugitives. These things were reported to Belisarius when he was just about setting sail. And since it was now too late for him to return himself, he entrusted Solomon with the administration of Libya and he also chose out the greatest part of his own guards and spearmen, instructing them to follow Solomon and as quickly as possible to punish with all zeal those of the Moors who had risen in revolt and to exact vengeance for the injury done the Romans. And the emperor sent another army also to Solomon with Theodorus, the Cappadocian, and Ildiger, who was the son-in-law of Antonina, the wife of Belisarius. And since it was no longer possible to find the revenues of the districts of Libya set down in order in documents,

γράψαντο ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαῖοι, ἅτε Γιζερίχου ἀναχαιτίσαντός τε καὶ διαφθείραντος κατ' ἀρχὰς ἅπαντα,[1] Τρύφων τε καὶ Εὐστράτιος πρὸς βασιλέως ἐστάλησαν, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς φόρους αὐτοῖς τάξουσι κατὰ λόγον ἑκάστῳ. οἳ δὴ οὐ μέτριοι Λίβυσιν οὐδὲ φορητοὶ ἔδοξαν εἶναι.

IX

Βελισάριος δὲ ἅμα Γελίμερί τε καὶ Βανδίλοις ἐς Βυζάντιον ἀφικόμενος γερῶν ἠξιώθη ἃ δὴ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς τοῖς νίκας τὰς μεγίστας καὶ λόγου πολλοῦ ἀξίας ἀναδησα-
2 μένοις διετετάχατο. χρόνος δὲ ἀμφὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς ἑξακοσίους παρῳχήκει ἤδη ἐξ ὅτου ἐς ταῦτα τὰ γέρα οὐδεὶς ἐληλύθει, ὅτι μὴ Τίτος τε καὶ Τραϊανός, καὶ ὅσοι ἄλλοι αὐτοκράτορες στρατηγή-
3 σαντες ἐπί τι βαρβαρικὸν ἔθνος ἐνίκησαν. τά τε γὰρ λάφυρα ἐνδεικνύμενος καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ἀνδράποδα ἐν μέσῃ πόλει ἐπόμπευσεν, ὃν δὴ θρίαμβον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, οὐ τῷ παλαιῷ μέντοι τρόπῳ, ἀλλὰ πεζῇ βαδίζων ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς αὑτοῦ ἄχρι ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον κἀνταῦθα ἐκ βαλβίδων[2] αὖθις ἕως εἰς τὸν χῶρον ἀφίκετο οὗ
4 δὴ ὁ θρόνος ὁ βασίλειός ἐστιν. ἦν δὲ λάφυρα μὲν ὅσα δὴ ὑπουργία τῇ βασιλέως ἀνεῖσθαι

[1] ἅπαντα VO : ἅπαντας P.
[2] ἐκ βαλβίδων Maltretus : ἐκ βανδίλων MSS.

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[1] Examples of the Roman system have come to light in Egyptian papyri; cf. the declarations of personal property, ἀπογραφαί, *Pap. Lond.*, I., p. 79; *Flinders Petrie Pap.*, III., p. 200, ed. Mahaffy and Smyly.

[2] Since a triumph was granted only to an *imperator*, after

as the Romans had recorded them in former times,[1] inasmuch as Gizeric had upset and destroyed everything in the beginning, Tryphon and Eustratius were sent by the emperor, in order to assess the taxes for the Libyans each according to his proportion. But these men seemed to the Libyans neither moderate nor endurable.

IX

Belisarius, upon reaching Byzantium with Gelimer and the Vandals, was counted worthy to receive such honours, as in former times were assigned to those generals of the Romans who had won the greatest and most noteworthy victories. And a period of about six hundred years had now passed since anyone had attained these honours,[2] except, indeed, Titus and Trajan, and such other emperors as had led armies against some barbarian nation and had been victorious. For he displayed the spoils and slaves from the war in the midst of the city and led a procession which the Romans call a "triumph," not, however, in the ancient manner, but going on foot from his own house to the hippodrome and then again from the barriers until he reached the place where the imperial throne is.[3] And there was booty,—first of all, whatever articles are wont

the establishment of the principate by Augustus all triumphs were celebrated in the name of the emperor himself, the victorious general receiving only the *insignia triumphalia*. The first general to refuse a triumph was Agrippa, after his campaign in Spain, about 550 years before Belisarius' triumph in Constantinople.

[3] The barriers (*carceres*), or starting-point for the racers, were at the open end of the hippodrome, the imperial box at the middle of the course at the right as one entered.

εἰώθει, θρόνοι τε χρυσοῖ καὶ ὀχήματα οἷς δὴ
τὴν βασιλέως γυναῖκα ὀχεῖσθαι νόμος, καὶ κόσμος
πολὺς ἐκ λίθων ἐντίμων ξυγκείμενος, ἐκπώματά
τε χρυσᾶ, καὶ τἄλλα ξύμπαντα ὅσα ἐς τὴν
5 βασιλέως θοίνην χρήσιμα. ἦν δὲ καὶ ἄργυρος
ἕλκων μυριάδας ταλάντων πολλὰς καὶ πάντων
τῶν βασιλικῶν κειμηλίων πάμπολύ τι χρῆμα
(ἅτε Γιζερίχου τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ σεσυληκότος Παλά-
τιον, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐρρήθη),
ἐν οἷς καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαίων κειμήλια ἦν, ἅπερ ὁ
Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Τίτος μετὰ τὴν Ἱεροσολύμων
6 ἅλωσιν ἐς Ῥώμην ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἤνεγκε. καὶ
αὐτὰ τῶν τις Ἰουδαίων ἰδὼν καὶ παραστὰς τῶν
βασιλέως γνωρίμων τινὶ "Ταῦτα," ἔφη, "τὰ
χρήματα ἐς τὸ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ Παλάτιον ἐσκομί-
7 ζεσθαι ἀξύμφορον οἴομαι εἶναι. οὐ γὰρ οἷόν τε
αὐτὰ ἑτέρωθι εἶναι ἢ ἐν τῷ χώρῳ οὗ δὴ Σολομὼν
αὐτὰ πρότερον ὁ τῶν Ἰουδαίων βασιλεὺς ἔθετο.
8 διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ Γιζέριχος τὰ Ῥωμαίων
βασίλεια εἷλε καὶ νῦν τὰ Βανδίλων ὁ Ῥωμαίων
9 στρατός." ταῦτα ἐπεὶ ἀνενεχθέντα βασιλεὺς
ἤκουσεν, ἔδεισέ τε καὶ ξύμπαντα κατὰ τάχος ἐς
τῶν Χριστιανῶν τὰ ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἱερὰ ἔπεμ-
10 ψεν. ἀνδράποδα δὲ ἦν τοῦ θριάμβου Γελίμερ
τε αὐτός, ἐσθῆτά πού τινα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων
ἀμπεχόμενος πορφυρᾶν, καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἅπαν,
Βανδίλων τε ὅσοι εὐμήκεις τε ἄγαν καὶ καλοὶ
11 τὰ σώματα ἦσαν. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ
Γελίμερ ἐγεγόνει καὶ τόν τε βασιλέα ἐπὶ βήματος
ὑψηλοῦ καθήμενον τόν τε δῆμον ἐφ' ἑκάτερα

to be set apart for the royal service,—thrones of gold and carriages in which it is customary for a king's consort to ride, and much jewelry made of precious stones, and golden drinking cups, and all the other things which are useful for the royal table. And there was also silver weighing many thousands of talents and all the royal treasure amounting to an exceedingly great sum (for Gizeric had despoiled the Palatium in Rome, as has been said in the preceding narrative),[1] and among these were the treasures of the Jews, which Titus, the son of Vespasian, together with certain others, had brought to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem. And one of the Jews, seeing these things, approached one of those known to the emperor and said: "These treasures I think it inexpedient to carry into the palace in Byzantium. Indeed, it is not possible for them to be elsewhere than in the place where Solomon, the king of the Jews, formerly placed them. For it is because of these that Gizeric captured the palace of the Romans, and that now the Roman army has captured that the Vandals." When this had been brought to the ears of the Emperor, he became afraid and quickly sent everything to the sanctuaries of the Christians in Jerusalem. And there were slaves in the triumph, among whom was Gelimer himself, wearing some sort of a purple garment upon his shoulders, and all his family, and as many of the Vandals as were very tall and fair of body. And when Gelimer reached the hippodrome and saw the emperor sitting upon a lofty seat and the people standing on either side and realized as he looked

[1] Cf. Book III. v. 3; that was in A.D. 455. The spoliation of Jerusalem by Titus had taken place in A.D. 70.

ἑστῶτα εἶδε καὶ αὐτὸν οὗ ἦν κακοῦ περισκοπῶν
ἔγνω, οὔτε ἀπέκλαυσεν οὔτε ἀνῴμωξεν, ἐπιλέγων
δὲ οὐκ ἐπαύσατο κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γραφὴν
“ Ματαιότης ματαιοτήτων, τὰ πάντα ματαιότης.”
12 ἀφικόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν κατὰ τὸ βασιλέως βῆμα
τὴν πορφυρίδα περιελόντες, πρηνῆ πεσόντα
προσκυνεῖν Ἰουστινιανὸν βασιλέα κατηνάγκασαν.
τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Βελισάριος ἐποίει ἅτε ἱκέτης βασι-
13 λέως σὺν αὐτῷ γεγονώς. βασιλεύς τε Ἰουστινι-
ανὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλὶς Θεοδώρα τοὺς Ἰλδερίχου
παῖδάς τε καὶ ἐκγόνους πάντας τε τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
Βαλεντινιανοῦ βασιλέως ξυγγενείας χρήμασιν
ἱκανοῖς· ἐδωρήσαντο, καὶ Γελίμερι χωρία οὐκ
εὐκαταφρόνητα ἐν Γαλατίᾳ δόντες ὁμοῦ τοῖς
14 ξυγγενέσιν ἐνταῦθα οἰκεῖν συνεχώρησαν. ἐς
πατρικίους μέντοι ἀνάγραπτος Γελίμερ ἥκιστα
ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ οὐ μετατίθεσθαι[1] τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης
ἤθελεν.
15 Ὀλίγῳ δὲ ὕστερον Βελισαρίῳ καὶ ὁ θρίαμβος
κατὰ δὴ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον ξυνετελέσθη. ἐς
ὑπάτους γὰρ προελθόντι οἱ ξυνέπεσε φέρεσθαί
τε πρὸς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων καὶ ἐν τῷ δίφρῳ ὀχου-
μένῳ τῷ δήμῳ ῥιπτεῖν αὐτὰ δὴ ἐκεῖνα τοῦ
16 Βανδίλων πολέμου τὰ λάφυρα. τά τε γὰρ
ἀργυρώματα καὶ ζώνας χρυσᾶς καὶ ἄλλου
πλούτου Βανδιλικοῦ πολύ τι χρῆμα ἐκ τῆς
Βελισαρίου ὑπατείας ὁ δῆμος ἥρπασε, καί τι
τῶν οὐκ εἰωθότων ἀνανεοῦσθαι τῷ χρόνῳ ἔδοξε.
ταῦτα μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἔσχε.

[1] Haury would read μεθίεσθαι “abandon.”

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[1] Ecclesiastes, i. 2.

about in what an evil plight he was, he neither wept nor cried out, but ceased not saying over in the words of the Hebrew scripture:[1] "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity." And when he came before the emperor's seat, they stripped off the purple garment, and compelled him to fall prone on the ground and do obeisance to the Emperor Justinian. This also Belisarius did, as being a suppliant of the emperor along with him. And the Emperor Justinian and the Empress Theodora presented the children of Ilderic and his offspring and all those of the family of the Emperor Valentinian with sufficient sums of money, and to Gelimer they gave lands not to be despised in Galatia and permitted him to live there together with his family. However, Gelimer was by no means enrolled among the patricians, since he was unwilling to change from the faith of Arius.

A little later the triumph[2] was celebrated by Belisarius in the ancient manner also. For he had the fortune to be advanced to the office of consul, and therefore was borne aloft by the captives, and as he was thus carried in his curule chair, he threw to the populace those very spoils of the Vandalic war. For the people carried off the silver plate and golden girdles and a vast amount of the Vandals' wealth of other sorts as a result of Belisarius' consulship, and it seemed that after a long interval of disuse an old custom was being revived.[3] These things, then, took place in Byzantium in the manner described.

Jan. 1, 535 A.D.

[2] Not an actual "triumph," but a triumphal celebration of his inauguration as consul.

[3] The reference is to the old custom of distributing to the populace largesses (*congiaria*) of money or valuables on the occasion of events of interest to the imperial house, such as the emperor's assumption of the consular office, birthdays, etc. The first largess of this kind was made by Julius Caesar.

X

Σολόμων δὲ τὸ ἐν Λιβύῃ παραλαβὼν στράτευμα, ἐπηρμένων μέν, ὡς προδεδήλωται, τῶν Μαυρουσίων, ἠωρημένων δὲ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων, ἐν ἀπόρῳ εἶχεν ᾗ τὸ παρὸν θέσθαι. τούς τε
2 γὰρ στρατιώτας ἐν Βυζακίῳ καὶ Νουμιδίᾳ οἱ βάρβαροι ἀνῃρηκέναι καὶ πάντα ἄγειν τε καὶ
3 φέρειν τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἠγγέλλοντο. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτόν τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα πᾶσαν συνετάραξε τὰ ἐς Αἰγάν τε τὸν Μασσαγέτην καὶ Ῥουφῖνον τὸν
4 Θρᾷκα ἐν Βυζακίῳ ξυνενεχθέντα. ἄμφω γὰρ λογίμω ἐς ἄγαν ἔν τε τῇ Βελισαρίου οἰκίᾳ ἤστην καὶ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατεύματι, ἅτερος μὲν αὐτοῖν Αἰγὰν ἐν τοῖς Βελισαρίου δορυφόροις ταττόμενος, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος ἅτε ἁπάντων εὐψυχότατος τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐν ταῖς παρατάξεσιν εἰωθὼς φέρειν, ὃν δὴ βανδοφόρον καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι.
5 τότε γὰρ τούτω τὼ ἄνδρε ἱππικῶν καταλόγων ἡγουμένω ἐν Βυζακίῳ, ἐπειδὴ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους εἶδον τά τε ἐν ποσὶ ληιζομένους καὶ Λίβυας ἅπαντας ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ποιησαμένους, τηρήσαντες ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ ξὺν τοῖς σφίσιν ἑπομένοις τοὺς τὴν λείαν παραπέμποντας, αὐτούς τε κτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀφαιροῦνται
6 πάντας. ὡς δὲ οὗτος ὁ λόγος ἐς τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἦκε, Κουτζίναν τε καὶ Ἐσδιλάσαν καὶ Ἰουρφούθην καὶ Μεδισινίσσαν, οὐ μακρὰν ταύτης δὴ τῆς στενοχωρίας ἀπέχοντας, χωροῦσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ περὶ δείλην ὀψίαν.
7 Ῥωμαῖοι δέ, κομιδῇ τε ὀλίγοι ὄντες καὶ ἐν χώρῳ

X

And Solomon took over the army in Libya; but in view of the fact that the Moors had risen against him, as has been told previously, and that everything was in suspense, he was at a loss how to treat the situation. For it was reported that the barbarians had destroyed the soldiers in Byzacium and Numidia and that they were pillaging and plundering everything there. But what disturbed most of all both him and all Carthage was the fate which befell Aïgan, the Massagete, and Rufinus, the Thracian, in Byzacium. For both were men of great repute both in the household of Belisarius and in the Roman army, one of them, Aïgan, being among the spearmen of Belisarius, while the other, as the most courageous of all, was accustomed to carry the standard of the general in battle; such an officer the Romans call "bandifer."[1] Now at the time referred to these two men were commanding detatchments of cavalry in Byzacium, and when they saw the Moors plundering everything before them and making all the Libyans captives, they watched in a narrow pass with their followers for those who were escorting the booty, and killed them and took away all the captives. And when a report of this came to the commanders of the barbarians, Coutzinas and Esdilasas and Iourphouthes and Medisinissas, who were not far away from this pass, they moved against them with their whole army in the late afternoon. And the Romans, being a very few men and shut off

[1] Cf. Book IV. ii. 1.

στενῷ ἐς μέσον μυριάδων πολλῶν ἀπειλημμένοι, ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς ἐπιόντας οὐχ οἷοί τε ἦσαν. ἔνθα γὰρ ἂν τραπεῖεν, ἀεὶ κατὰ νώτου ἐβάλλοντο.
8 τότε δὴ Ῥουφῖνός τε καὶ Αἰγὰν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς πέτραν ἐγγύς που οὖσαν ἀναδραμόντες ἐνθένδε
9 τοὺς βαρβάρους ἠμύνοντο. ἕως μὲν οὖν τοῖς τόξοις ἐχρῶντο, οὐκ ἐτόλμων σφίσιν ἐκ τοῦ εὐθέος εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν οἱ πολέμιοι, ἀλλὰ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐσηκόντιζον· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ βέλη ἅπαντα σφᾶς ἤδη ἐπιλελοίπει, οἵ τε Μαυρούσιοι αὐτοῖς ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθον καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐκ τῶν
10 παρόντων ἠμύνοντο. τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν βαρβάρων βιαζομένου, Αἰγὰν μὲν κρεουργηθεὶς τὸ σῶμα ὅλον ἐνταῦθα ἔπεσε, Ῥουφῖνον δὲ οἱ
11 πολέμιοι ἁρπάσαντες ἦγον. αὐτίκα δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων εἷς Μεδισινίσσας, δείσας μὴ διαφυγὼν πράγματα σφίσιν αὖθις παρέχοι, τῆς τε κεφαλῆς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ ταύτην ἐς τὰ οἰκεῖα λαβὼν ταῖς γυναιξὶ ταῖς αὑτοῦ ἔδειξε, μεγέθους τε ὑπερβολῇ καὶ τριχῶν πλήθει ἀξιοθέατον οὖσαν.
12 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμᾶς ὁ τῆς ἱστορίας λόγος ἐνταῦθα ἤγαγεν, ἐπάναγκες εἰπεῖν ἄνωθεν ὅθεν τε τὰ Μαυρουσίων ἔθνη ἐς Λιβύην ἦλθον καὶ ὅπως ἐνταῦθα ᾠκήσαντο.

13 Ἐπειδὴ Ἑβραῖοι ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ ἄγχι τῶν Παλαιστίνης ὁρίων ἐγένοντο, Μωσῆς μὲν σοφὸς ἀνήρ, ὃς αὐτοῖς τῆς ὁδοῦ ἡγήσατο, θνήσκει, διαδέχεται δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰησοῦς ὁ τοῦ Ναυῆ παῖς, ὃς ἔς τε τὴν Παλαιστίνην τὸν λεὼν τοῦτον εἰσήγαγε καὶ ἀρετὴν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κρείττω ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν
14 ἐπιδειξάμενος τὴν χώραν ἔσχε. καὶ τὰ ἔθνη

in a narrow place in the midst of many thousands, were not able to ward off their assailants. For wherever they might turn, they were always shot at from the rear. Then, indeed, Rufinus and Aïgan with some few men ran to the top of a rock which was near by and from there defended themselves against the barbarians. Now as long as they were using their bows, the enemy did not dare come directly to a hand-to-hand struggle with them, but they kept hurling their javelins among them; but when all the arrows of the Romans were now exhausted, the Moors closed with them, and they defended themselves with their swords as well as the circumstances permitted. But since they were overpowered by the multitude of the barbarians, Aïgan fell there with his whole body hacked to pieces, and Rufinus was seized by the enemy and led away. But straightway one of the commanders, Medisinissas, fearing lest he should escape and again make trouble for them, cut off his head and taking it to his home shewed it to his wives, for it was a remarkable sight on account of the extraordinary size of the head and the abundance of hair. And now, since the narration of the history has brought me to this point, it is necessary to tell from the beginning whence the nations of the Moors came to Libya and how they settled there.

When the Hebrews had withdrawn from Egypt and had come near the boundaries of Palestine, Moses, a wise man, who was their leader on the journey, died, and the leadership was passed on to Joshua, the son of Nun, who led this people into Palestine, and, by displaying a valour in war greater than that natural to a man, gained possession of the land. And after overthrowing all the nations he

ἅπαντα καταστρεψάμενος τὰς πόλεις εὐπετῶς
παρεστήσατο, ἀνίκητός τε παντάπασιν ἔδοξεν
15 εἶναι. τότε δὲ ἡ ἐπιθαλασσία χώρα ἐκ Σιδῶνος
μέχρι τῶν Αἰγύπτου ὁρίων Φοινίκη ξύμπασα
16 ὠνομάζετο. βασιλεὺς δὲ εἷς τὸ παλαιὸν αὐτῇ
ἐφειστήκει, ὥσπερ ἅπασιν ὁμολογεῖται οἳ Φοινί-
17 κων τὰ ἀρχαιότατα ἀνεγράψαντο. ἐνταῦθα
ᾤκηντο ἔθνη πολυανθρωπότατα, Γεργεσαῖοί τε
καὶ Ἰεβουσαῖοι καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα ὀνόματα ἔχοντα,
18 οἷς δὴ αὐτὰ ἡ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἱστορία καλεῖ. οὗτος
ὁ λεὼς ἐπεὶ ἄμαχόν τι χρῆμα τὸν ἐπηλύτην
στρατηγὸν[1] εἶδον, ἐξ ἠθῶν τῶν πατρίων ἐξανα-
στάντες ἐπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου ὁμόρου οὔσης ἐχώρησαν.
19 ἔνθα χῶρον οὐδένα ἱκανὸν σφίσιν ἐνοικήσασθαι
εὑρόντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πολυανθρωπία ἐκ
20 παλαιοῦ ἦν, ἐς Λιβύην ἐστάλησαν. πόλεις τε
οἰκήσαντες πολλὰς ξύμπασαν Λιβύην μέχρι στη-
λῶν τῶν Ἡρακλείων ἔσχον, ἐνταῦθά τε καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ
21 τῇ Φοινίκων φωνῇ χρώμενοι ᾤκηνται. ἐδείμαντο
δὲ καὶ φρούριον ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ, οὗ νῦν πόλις Τίγισίς
22 ἐστί τε καὶ ὀνομάζεται. ἔνθα στῆλαι δύο ἐκ
λίθων λευκῶν πεποιημέναι ἄγχι κρήνης εἰσὶ τῆς
μεγάλης, γράμματα Φοινικικὰ ἐγκεκολαμμένα
ἔχουσαι τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ λέγοντα ὧδε·
"Ἡμεῖς ἐσμεν οἱ φυγόντες ἀπὸ προσώπου Ἰησοῦ
23 τοῦ λῃστοῦ υἱοῦ Ναυῆ." ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα
ἔθνη ἐν Λιβύῃ πρότερον ᾠκημένα, οἳ διὰ τὸ ἐκ
παλαιοῦ ἐνταῦθα ἱδρῦσθαι αὐτόχθονες εἶναι
24 ἐλέγοντο. καὶ ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ Ἀνταῖον, τὸν αὐτῶν
βασιλέα, ὃς ἐν Κλιπέᾳ Ἡρακλεῖ ἐπάλαισε, τῆς

[1] ἐπηλύτην στρατηγὸν P : ἐπηλύτων στρατὸν V, ἔπηλυν στρατηγὸν O.

easily won the cities, and he seemed to be altogether invincible. Now at that time the whole country along the sea from Sidon as far as the boundaries of Egypt was called Phoenicia. And one king in ancient times held sway over it, as is agreed by all who have written the earliest accounts of the Phoenicians. In that country there dwelt very populous tribes, the Gergesites and the Jebusites and some others with other names by which they are called in the history of the Hebrews.[1] Now when these nations saw that the invading general was an irresistible prodigy, they emigrated from their ancestral homes and made their way to Egypt, which adjoined their country. And finding there no place sufficient for them to dwell in, since there has been a great population in Aegypt from ancient times, they proceeded to Libya. And they established numerous cities and took possession of the whole of Libya as far as the Pillars of Heracles, and there they have lived even up to my time, using the Phoenician tongue. They also built a fortress in Numidia, where now is the city called Tigisis. In that place are two columns made of white stone near by the great spring, having Phoenician letters cut in them which say in the Phoenician tongue : "We are they who fled from before the face of Joshua, the robber, the son of Nun." There were also other nations settled in Libya before the Moors, who on account of having been established there from of old were said to be children of the soil. And because of this they said that Antaeus, their king, who wrestled with

[1] The Canaanites of the Old Testament.

25 γῆς υἱὸν ἔφασαν εἶναι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καὶ
ὅσοι μετὰ Διδοῦς ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνέστησαν ἅτε
πρὸς ξυγγενεῖς τοὺς ἐν Λιβύῃ ᾠκημένους ἀφί-
κοντο. οἳ δὴ αὐτοῖς Καρχηδόνα κτίσαι τε καὶ
26 ἔχειν ἐθελούσιοι ξυνεχώρησαν. προϊόντος δὲ
τοῦ χρόνου ἡ τῶν Καρχηδονίων δύναμις μεγάλη
27 ἐγίνετο καὶ πολυάνθρωπος. μάχης τε σφίσι
γενομένης πρὸς τοὺς ὁμόρους, οἳ πρότεροι, ὥσπερ
ἐρρήθη, ἐκ Παλαιστίνης ἀφίκοντο καὶ τὰ νῦν
Μαυρούσιοι καλοῦνται, ἐκράτησάν τε αὐτῶν οἱ
Καρχηδόνιοι καὶ ὡς ἀπωτάτω οἰκεῖν Καρχηδόνος
28 ἠνάγκασαν. ἔπειτα δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι πάντων καθυ-
πέρτεροι τῷ πολέμῳ γενόμενοι Μαυρουσίους μὲν
ἐς τὰς ἐσχατιὰς τῆς ἐν Λιβύῃ οἰκουμένης χώρας
ἱδρύσαντο, Καρχηδονίους δὲ καὶ Λίβυας τοὺς
ἄλλους κατηκόους σφίσιν ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν
29 ἐποιήσαντο. ὕστερον δὲ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι πολλὰς
κατὰ Βανδίλων νίκας ἀνελόμενοι Μαυριτανίαν
τε τὴν νῦν καλουμένην ἐκ Γαδείρων μέχρι τῶν
Καισαρείας ὁρίων τείνουσαν καὶ Λιβύης τῆς
ἄλλης τὰ πλεῖστα ἔσχον. τὰ μὲν δὴ τῆς Μαυ-
ρουσίων ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐνοικήσεως ταύτῃ πη ἔσχε.

XI

Σολόμων δὲ τὰ ἐς Ῥουφῖνον καὶ Αἰγὰν ξυνεν-
εχθέντα ἀκούσας τόν τε πόλεμον ἐν παρασκευῇ
ἐποιεῖτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντας
2 ἔγραψε τάδε· "Ἤδη μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνθρώπων

[1] *i.e.*, Clypea, or Aspis, now Kalibia, on the Carthaginian coast.

Heracles in Clipea,[1] was a son of the earth. And in later times those who removed from Phoenicia with Dido came to the inhabitants of Libya as to kinsmen. And they willingly allowed them to found and hold Carthage. But as time went on Carthage became a powerful and populous city. And a battle took place between them and their neighbours, who, as has been said, had come from Palestine before them and are called Moors at the present time, and the Carthaginians defeated them and compelled them to live a very great distance away from Carthage. Later on the Romans gained the supremacy over all of them in war, and settled the Moors at the extremity of the inhabited land of Libya, and made the Carthaginians and the other Libyans subject and tributary to themselves. And after this the Moors won many victories over the Vandals and gained possession of the land now called Mauretania, extending from Gadira as far as the boundaries of Caesarea,[2] as well as the most of Libya which remained. Such, then, is the story of the settlement of the Moors in Libya.

XI

Now when Solomon heard what had befallen Rufinus and Aïgan, he made ready for war and wrote as follows to the commanders of the Moors: "Other men than you have even before this had the ill

[2] *i.e.*, from Tangier, opposite Cadiz, to Algiers. On Caesarea see IV. v. 5 and note.

τισὶν ἀπονενοῆσθαί τε καὶ ἀπολωλέναι τετύχηκεν, οἱ οὐδενὶ πρότερον τεκμηριῶσαι ἔσχον ὅπῃ
3 ποτὲ αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ἀπονοίας ἐκβήσεται. ὑμεῖς δέ, οἷς τὸ παράδειγμα ἐγγύθεν ἐκ τῶν συνοίκων ὑμῖν Βανδίλων ἐστί, τί ποτε ἄρα παθόντες χεῖράς τε ἀνταίρειν ἔγνωτε βασιλεῖ τῷ μεγάλῳ καὶ τὴν
4 ὑμῶν αὐτῶν σωτηρίαν προέσθαι, καὶ ταῦτα ὅρκους τε τοὺς δεινοτάτους ἐν γράμμασι δόντες καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους τῶν ὡμολογη-
5 μένων ἐνέχυρα παρασχόμενοι; ἢ ἐπίδειξίν τινα ἐγνώκατε ποιεῖσθαι, ὡς ὑμῖν οὔτε θεοῦ οὔτε πίστεως οὔτε τῆς ξυγγενείας αὐτῆς οὔτε τῆς σωτηρίας οὔτε ἄλλου ὁτουοῦν ἐστί τις λόγος;
6 καίτοι, εἰ τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ὑμῖν οὕτως ἤσκηται, τίνι ξυμμάχῳ πιστεύοντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέα
7 χωρεῖτε; εἰ δὲ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπολοῦντες στρατεύεσθε, τί ποτέ ἐστιν ὑπὲρ ὅτου κινδυνεύειν βεβού-
8 λησθε; ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν ἤδη τις εἰσῆλθεν ὑμᾶς τῶν φθασάντων μετάμελος, γράψατε ὅπως ὑμῖν εὖ τὰ πεπραγμένα θησόμεθα· εἰ δὲ τὰ τῆς ἀπονοίας ὑμῖν οὔπω λελώφηκε, δέξασθε Ῥωμαϊκὸν πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν ὅρκων οἷς ἐλωβήσασθε καὶ τῆς ἐς τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ὑμετέρους ἀδικίας ὑμῖν προσιόντα."

9 Τοσαῦτα μὲν Σολόμων ἔγραψεν. οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι ἀπεκρίναντο ὧδε· "Βελισάριος μὲν ἐπαγγελίαις μεγάλαις ἡμᾶς περιελθὼν ἔπεισε βασιλέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ κατηκόους εἶναι· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡμῖν οὐδενὸς μεταδόντες λιμῷ πιεζομένους ἠξίουν φίλους τε ἡμᾶς καὶ ξυμμάχους

fortune to lose their senses and to be destroyed, men who had no means of judging beforehand how their folly would turn out. But as for you, who have the example near at hand in your neighbours, the Vandals, what in the world has happened to you that you have decided to raise your hands against the great emperor and throw away your own security, and that too when you have given the most dread oaths in writing and have handed over your children as pledges to the agreement? Is it that you have determined to make a kind of display of the fact that you have no consideration either for God or for good faith or for kinship itself or for safety or for any other thing at all? And yet, if such is your practice in matters which concern the divine, in what ally do you put your trust in marching against the emperor of the Romans? And if you are taking the field to the destruction of your children, what in the world is it in behalf of which you have decided to endanger yourselves? But if any repentance has by now entered your hearts for what has already taken place, write to us, that we may satisfactorily arrange with you touching what has already been done; but if your madness has not yet abated, expect a Roman war, which will come upon you together with the oaths which you have violated and the wrong which you are doing to your own children."

Such was the letter which Solomon wrote. And the Moors replied as follows: "Belisarius deluded us with great promises and by this means persuaded us to become subjects of the Emperor Justinian; but the Romans, while giving us no share in any good thing, expected to have us, though pinched with

10 ἔχειν. ὥστε εἰκότως ἂν μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἢ Μαυρου-
11 σίοις τὸ μὴ πιστοῖς καλεῖσθαι προσήκει. λύουσι
γὰρ τὰς σπονδὰς οὐχ ὅσοι ἀδικούμενοι ἐκ τοῦ
ἐμφανοῦς τῶν πέλας κατηγοροῦντες ἀφίστανται,
ἀλλ' ὅσοι ὑποσπόνδους ἔχειν ἀξιοῦντές τινας εἶτα
12 βιάζονται. καὶ τὸν θεὸν πολέμιον σφίσι ποιοῦν-
ται οὐχ οἳ ἂν τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν κομιούμενοι
ἐφ' ἑτέρους χωροῖεν, ἀλλ' ὅσοι τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
ἐπιβατεύοντες ἐς κίνδυνον πολέμου καθίστανται.
13 παίδων μέντοι ἕνεκεν ὑμῖν μελήσει, οἷς μίαν
ἄγεσθαι γυναῖκα ἀνάγκη· ἡμᾶς γάρ, οἷς καὶ
κατὰ πεντήκοντα, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ,[1] συνοικοῦσι γυν-
αῖκες, παίδων οὐκ ἄν ποτε ἐπιλίποι γονή."
14 Ταῦτα ἀναλεξαμένῳ Σολόμωνι τὸ στράτευμα
ὅλον ἐπὶ Μαυρουσίους ἐπάγειν ἔδοξε. διαθέμενός
τε τὰ ἐν Καρχηδόνι πράγματα, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
15 ἐς Βυζάκιον ᾔει. γενόμενος δὲ ἐς Μάμμης τὸ
χωρίον, ἔνθα δὴ οἱ τέτταρες τῶν Μαυρουσίων
ἄρχοντες ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ὧν ὀλίγῳ πρότερον
16 ἐπεμνήσθην, χαράκωμα ἐποιήσατο. ὄρη δέ εἰσιν
ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλὰ καὶ χωρίον ὁμαλὲς περὶ τὸν πρό-
ποδα τῶν ὀρῶν, ἔνθα οἱ βάρβαροι παρασκευα-
σάμενοι ἐς τὴν μάχην ἐποιοῦντο τὴν παράταξιν
17 ὧδε. κύκλον ἐκ τῶν καμήλων ταξάμενοι, ὅπερ
καὶ τὸν Καβάωνα ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις εἰρ-
γάσθαι ἐρρήθη, κατὰ δυοκαίδεκα μάλιστα τοῦ
18 μετώπου βάθος ἐποίουν. καὶ γυναῖκας μὲν ξὺν
τοῖς παισὶ κατέθεντο τοῦ κύκλου ἐντός· (τοῖς γὰρ
Μαυρουσίοις καὶ γυναῖκας ὀλίγας ξὺν τοῖς παι-

[1] τύχῃ V : τύχοι PO.

hunger, as their friends and allies. Therefore it is more fitting that you should be called faithless than that the Moors should be. For the men who break treaties are not those who, when manifestly wronged, bring accusation against their neighbours and turn away from them, but those who expect to keep others in faithful alliance with them and then do them violence. And men make God their enemy, not when they march against others in order to recover their own possessions, but when they get themselves into danger of war by encroaching upon the possessions of others. And as for children, that will be your concern, who are not permitted to marry more than one wife; but with us, who have, it may be, fifty wives living with each of us, offspring of children can never fail."

When Solomon had read this letter, he decided to lead his whole army against the Moors. So after arranging matters in Carthage, he proceeded with all his troops to Byzacium. And when he reached the place which is called Mammes,[1] where the four Moorish commanders, whom I have mentioned a little before,[2] were encamped, he made a stockade for himself. Now there are lofty mountains there, and a level space near the foothills of the mountains, where the barbarians had made preparations for the battle and arranged their fighting order as follows. They formed a circle of their camels, just as, in the previous narrative,[3] I have said Cabaon did, making the front about twelve deep. And they placed the women with the children within the circle; (for among the Moors it is customary to take also a few

[1] "On the borders of Mauretania" according to Procopius, *De aedificiis*, vi. 6. 18.

[2] Chap. x. 6. [3] Book III. viii. 25, 26.

σὶν[1] ἐς παράταξιν ἐπάγεσθαι νόμος, αἵπερ αὐτοῖς
χαρακώματά τε καὶ καλύβας ποιοῦσι, καὶ ἱππο-
κομοῦσιν ἐμπείρως, καὶ τῶν τε καμήλων τῆς τε
19 τροφῆς ἐπιμελοῦνται· καὶ θήγουσαι τὰ τῶν ὅπλων
σιδήρια πολλοὺς σφίσι παραιροῦνται τῶν ἐν ταῖς
παρατάξεσι πόνων·) αὐτοὶ δὲ πεζοὶ ἐς μέσους
τῶν καμήλων τοὺς πόδας ἵσταντο, ἀσπίδας τε καὶ
ξίφη ἔχοντες καὶ δοράτια, οἷς ἀκοντίζειν εἰώθασι.
τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσιν ἔχοντες τοὺς ἵππους
20 ἡσύχαζον. Σολόμων δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ τοῦ Μαυ-
ρουσίων κύκλου ὃ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐτύγχανεν ὂν
21 ἀφῆκεν, οὐδένα ἐνταῦθα καταστησάμενος. ἔδεισε
γὰρ μὴ κατιόντες τε οἱ ἐν τῷ ὄρει πολέμιοι καὶ οἱ
ἐν τῷ κύκλῳ ἐπιστρεφόμενοι ἀμφιβόλους ἐν τῇ
παρατάξει τοὺς ἐκείνῃ ταττομένους ποιήσωνται.
22 ἐς δὲ τοῦ κύκλου τὸ λειπόμενον ὅλον ἀντιτάξας
τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς εἶδε
πεφοβημένους τε καὶ ἀθαρσοῦντας, διὰ τὰ ἐς
Ἀιγάν τε καὶ Ῥουφῖνον ξυνενεχθέντα, βουλό-
μενος ὑπόμνησιν ποιήσασθαι αὐτοῖς τοῦ θαρσεῖν
23 ἔλεξε τάδε· «Ἄνδρες οἱ Βελισαρίῳ ξυστρατευσά-
μενοι, μηδεὶς ὑμᾶς τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶνδε φόβος
εἰσίτω, μηδέ, εἰ Μαυρούσιοι κατὰ μυριάδας πέντε
συνειλεγμένοι Ῥωμαίων ἤδη πεντακοσίων ἐκρά-
τησαν, τοῦτο ὑμῖν ἐν παραδείγματος μοίρᾳ γινέ-
24 σθω. ἀλλ' ἀναμνήσθητε μὲν τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς
ὑμετέρας, ἐκλογίζεσθε δὲ ὡς Βανδίλοι μὲν Μαυ-
ρουσίων ἐκράτουν, ὑμεῖς δὲ Βανδίλων ἀκονιτὶ
κύριοι τῷ πολέμῳ γεγένησθε, καὶ ὡς τοὺς τῶν
μειζόνων κεκρατηκότας περὶ[2] τῶν καταδεεστέρων

[1] Christ would bracket ξὺν τοῖς παισίν.
[2] περὶ MSS. : παρὰ Hoeschel in marg., Dindorf.

women, with their children, to battle, and these make the stockades and huts for them and tend the horses skilfully, and have charge of the camels and the food; they also sharpen the iron weapons and take upon themselves many of the tasks in connection with the preparation for battle); and the men themselves took their stand on foot in between the legs of the camels, having shields and swords and small spears which they are accustomed to hurl like javelins. And some of them with their horses remained quietly among the mountains. But Solomon disregarded one half of the circle of the Moors, which was towards the mountain, placing no one there. For he feared lest the enemy on the mountain should come down and those in the circle should turn about and thus make the men drawn up there exposed to attack on both sides in the battle. But against the remainder of the circle he drew up his whole army, and since he saw the most of them frightened and without courage, on account of what had befallen Aïgan and Rufinus, and wishing to admonish them to be of good cheer, he spoke as follows: "Men who have campaigned with Belisarius, let no fear of these men enter your minds, and, if Moors gathered to the number of fifty thousand have already defeated five hundred Romans, let not this stand for you as an example. But call to mind your own valour, and consider that while the Vandals defeated the Moors, you have become masters of the Vandals in war without any effort, and that it is not right that those who have conquered the greater

25 πεφοβῆσθαι οὐ δίκαιον. καίτοι πάντων ἀνθρώ-
πων ἐς ἀγῶνα πολέμου φαυλότατον εἶναι δοκεῖ τὸ
26 Μαυρουσίων ἔθνος. γυμνοί τε γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοί
εἰσι καὶ αὐτῶν ὅσοι ἀσπίδας ἔχουσι, βραχείας τε
ταύτας καὶ οὐκ εὖ πεποιημένας οὐδὲ ἀπωθεῖσθαι
27 τὰ προσιόντα δυναμένας προβέβληνται. καὶ τὰ
δύο ταῦτα δοράτια ἀπορρίψαντες, ἢν μή τι δρά-
28 σωσιν, αὐτόματοι ἐς φυγὴν τρέπονται. ὥστε
πάρεστιν ὑμῖν τὴν πρώτην φυλαξαμένοις τῶν
βαρβάρων ὁρμὴν ἀνελέσθαι οὐδενὶ πόνῳ τὸ τοῦ
29 πολέμου κράτος. τῆς δὲ ὑμετέρας ὁπλίσεως ἡλί-
κον πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ διαλλάσσον ἐστὶν
30 ὁρᾶτε δήπου. καὶ τούτων ἔξω, ψυχῶν μὲν ἀρετὴ
καὶ σωμάτων ἀλκὴ καὶ πολέμων ἐμπειρία καὶ τὸ
θαρσεῖν, διὰ τὸ πάντας[1] ἤδη νενικηκέναι τοὺς
πολεμίους, ὑμῖν πρόσεστιν· οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι
τούτων ἁπάντων ἐστερημένοι μόνῳ τῷ σφῶν αὐ-
31 τῶν ὁμίλῳ πιστεύουσι. ῥᾷον δὲ ὀλίγοι ὡς ἄριστα
παρεσκευασμένοι πλῆθος οὐκ ἀγαθῶν τὰ πολέμια
32 νικῶσιν ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἡσσῶνται. τῷ
μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθῷ στρατιώτῃ τὸ θαρσεῖν ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ
πάρεστι, τῷ δὲ ἀνάνδρῳ τὸ τῶν συντεταγμένων
πλῆθος ἐς ἐπισφαλῆ στενοχωρίαν ὡς τὰ πολλὰ
33 περιίσταται. καὶ μὴν καὶ καμήλων τῶνδε ὑμᾶς
ὑπερφρονεῖν ἄξιον, αἳ οὔτε ἀμύνειν τοῖς πολεμίοις
οἷαί τέ εἰσι καὶ πληγεῖσαι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μείζονος
ταραχῆς τε καὶ ἀταξίας αἴτιαι τούτοις γενήσον-
34 ται. καὶ τὸ προπετὲς ὃ διὰ τὸ πρότερον εὐημερῆ-
σαι οἱ πολέμιοι κέκτηνται, ὑμῖν συναγωνιεῖσθαι
35 ξυμβήσεται. τόλμα γὰρ τῇ μὲν δυνάμει ξυμμε-

[1] πάντας PO: πάντως V.

should be terrified before those who are inferior. And indeed of all men the Moorish nation seems to be the most poorly equipped for war's struggle. For the most of them have no armour at all, and those who have shields to hold before themselves have only small ones which are not well made and are not able to turn aside what strikes against them. And after they have thrown those two small spears, if they do not accomplish anything, they turn of their own accord to flight. So that it is possible for you, after guarding against the first attack of the barbarians, to win the victory with no trouble at all. But as to your equipment of arms, you see, of course, how great is the difference between it and that of your opponents. And apart from this, both valour of heart and strength of body and experience in war and confidence because you have already conquered all your enemies,—all these advantages you have; but the Moors, being deprived of all these things, put their trust only in their own great throng. And it is easier for a few who are most excellently prepared to conquer a multitude of men not good at warfare than it is for the multitude to defeat them. For while the good soldier has his confidence in himself, the cowardly man generally finds that the very number of those arrayed with him produces a want of room that is full of peril. Furthermore, you are warranted in despising these camels, which cannot fight for the enemy, and when struck by our missiles will, in all probability, become the cause of considerable confusion and disorder among them. And the eagerness for battle which the enemy have acquired on account of their former success will be your ally in the fight. For daring, when it is kept

τρουμένη τάχα τι καὶ τοὺς αὐτῇ χρωμένους ὀνή-
36 σει, ὑπεραίρουσα δὲ ταύτην ἐς κίνδυνον ἄγει. ὧν ἐνθυμούμενοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων καταφρονοῦντες σιγήν τε καὶ κόσμον ἀσκεῖτε· τούτων γὰρ ἐπιμελούμενοι ῥᾷόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀκοσμίας κρατήσομεν." ταῦτα μὲν Σολόμων εἶπεν.

37 Οἱ δὲ τῶν Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες ἐπειδὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπεπληγμένους τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων εὐκοσμίαν εἶδον, βουλόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τὸ θαρσεῖν αὖθις ἀντικαθιστάναι,
38 τοιάδε παρεκελεύσαντο· "Ὡς μὲν ἀνθρώπεια Ῥωμαῖοι σώματα ἔχουσι καὶ οἷα σιδήρῳ πλησσόμενα εἴκειν μεμαθήκαμεν, ὦ ξυστρατιῶται, οἷς αὐτῶν ἔναγχος τοὺς πάντων ἀρίστους πῆ μὲν καταχωσθέντας τοῖς δόρασι τοῖς ἡμετέροις ἐκτείναμεν, πῆ δὲ ἁρπάσαντες δορυαλώτους ἡμῶν αὐτῶν πεποιή-
39 μεθα. τούτων δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων, ὡς καὶ νῦν αὐτῶν τῷ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ προέχειν αὐχοῦμεν,
40 ὁρᾶν πάρεστι. καὶ μὴν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν μεγίστων ἡμῖν ὁ ἀγών ἐστιν, ἢ Λιβύης πάσης κυρίοις εἶναι,
41 ἢ τοῖς ἀλαζόσι τοῖσδε δουλεύειν. ὥστε ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη ὡς μάλιστα ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι. οἷς γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὅλων ὁ κίνδυνος, μὴ οὐχὶ εὐψυ-
42 χοτάτοις εἶναι ἀξύμφορον. τῆς δὲ τῶν πολεμίων ὁπλίσεως ὑπερφρονεῖν ἡμᾶς προσήκει. ἤν τε γὰρ πεζῇ[1] ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴωσιν, οὐκ εὐσταλεῖς ἔσονται, ἀλλ' ἡσσηθήσονται τοῦ Μαυρουσίων τάχους, καὶ τὴν ἵππον αὐτοῖς ἥ τε τῶν καμήλων ὄψις ἐκπλήξασα καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τοῦ πολέμου θόρυβον ἡ τούτων κραυγὴ ὑπερηχοῦσα εἰς ἀταξίαν, ὥς γε τὸ

[1] πεζῇ P: οἱ πεζοὶ V, πεζοὶ O.

commensurate with one's power, will perhaps be of some benefit even to those who make use of it, but when it exceeds one's power it leads into danger. Bearing these things in mind and despising the enemy, observe silence and order; for by taking thought for these things we shall win the victory over the disorder of the barbarians more easily and with less labour." Thus spoke Solomon.

And the commanders of the Moors also, seeing the barbarians terrified at the orderly array of the Romans, and wishing to recall their host to confidence again, exhorted them in this wise: "That the Romans have human bodies, the kind that yield when struck with iron, we have been taught, O fellow-soldiers, by those of them whom we have recently met, the best of them all, some of whom we have overwhelmed with our spears and killed, and the others we have seized and made our prisoners of war. And not only is this so, but it is now possible to see also that we boast great superiority over them in numbers. And, furthermore, the struggle for us involves the very greatest things, either to be masters of all Libya or to be slaves to these braggarts. It is therefore necessary for us to be in the highest degree brave men at the present time. For it is not expedient that those whose all is at stake should be other than exceedingly courageous. And it behoves us to despise the equipment of arms which the enemy have. For if they come on foot against us, they will not be able to move rapidly, but will be worsted by the agility of the Moors, and their cavalry will be terrified both by the sight of the camels, and by the noise they make, which, rising above the general tumult of battle, will,

43 εἰκός, καταστήσεται. καὶ τὴν ἐς Βανδίλους νίκην
εἴ τις ἐκλογιζόμενος μὴ ἀνταγωνίστους αὐτοὺς
44 οἴεται εἶναι, γνώμης ἁμαρτάνει. ἡ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ
πολέμου ῥοπὴ τῇ τοῦ στρατηγοῦντος ἀρετῇ ἢ
τύχῃ κρίνεσθαι πέφυκε· Βελισάριον δέ, ὃς τῆς
Βανδίλων ἐπικρατήσεως αἴτιος[1] γέγονεν, ἐκποδὼν
45 νῦν ἡμῖν ἑστηκέναι πεποίηκε τὸ δαιμόνιον. ἄλλως
τε καὶ ἡμεῖς Βανδίλους πολλάκις νενικηκότες,
περιελόντες τε τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν, ἑτοιμότερόν τε
καὶ ἀπονώτερον Ῥωμαίοις τὸ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν πεποιή-
46 μεθα κράτος. καὶ νῦν δὲ πολεμίων τῶνδε κρατή-
σειν, ἢν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἀνδραγαθίζησθε, ἐλπίδα
ἔχομεν."
47 Τοσαῦτα καὶ οἱ Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες παρα-
κελευσάμενοι τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἦρχον. καὶ τὰ μὲν
πρῶτα πολλὴ ἀκοσμία ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα
48 ἐγεγόνει. οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτοῖς τῇ τε κραυγῇ
καὶ τῇ ὄψει τῶν καμήλων ἀχθόμενοι ἀνεχαιτί-
ζοντό τε καὶ ἀπορριπτοῦντες τοὺς ἐπιβάτας
49 οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔφευγον. καὶ ἐν τούτῳ
ἐπεκδρομὰς ποιούμενοι οἱ Μαυρούσιοι καὶ τὰ
δοράτια ὅσα σφίσιν ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἦν ἀκοντί-
ζοντες, θορύβου τε αὐτῶν ἐμπίπλασθαι τὸ στρά-
τευμα ἐποίουν καὶ οὔτε ἀμυνομένους οὔτε ἐν τάξει
50 μένοντας ἔπλησσον. ὕστερον δὲ Σολόμων, κατιδὼν
τὰ πρασσόμενα, ἔκ τε τοῦ ἵππου ἀποθρώσκει
πρῶτος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐς τοῦτο ἐνάγει.
51 καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπέβησαν, τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ἐνετέλλετο
ἡσυχάζουσι καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας προβαλλομένοις
δεχομένοις τε τὰ παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων πεμπόμενα
ἐν τῇ τάξει μένειν· αὐτὸς δὲ στρατιώτας οὐχ

[1] αἴτιος V : αἰτιώτατος PO.

in all likelihood, throw them into disorder. And if anyone by taking into consideration the victory of the Romans over the Vandals thinks them not to be withstood, he is mistaken in his judgment. For the scales of war are, in the nature of the case, turned by the valour of the commander or by fortune; and Belisarius, who was responsible for their gaining the mastery over the Vandals, has now, thanks to Heaven, been removed out of our way. And, besides, we too have many times conquered the Vandals and stripped them of their power, and have thus made the victory over them a more feasible and an easier task for the Romans. And now we have reason to hope to conquer this enemy also if you shew yourselves brave men in the struggle."

After the officers of the Moors had delivered this exhortation, they began the engagement. And at first there arose great disorder in the Roman army. For their horses were offended by the noise made by the camels and by the sight of them, and reared up and threw off their riders and the most of them fled in complete disorder. And in the meantime the Moors were making sallies and hurling all the small spears which they had in their hands, thus causing the Roman army to be filled with tumult, and they were hitting them with their missiles while they were unable either to defend themselves or to remain in position. But after this, Solomon, observing what was happening, leaped down from his horse himself first and caused all the others to do the same. And when they had dismounted, he commanded the others to stand still, and, holding their shields before them and receiving the missiles sent by the enemy, to remain in their position; but he himself, leading forward not

ἧσσον ἢ πεντακοσίους ἐπαγόμενος ἐς τὴν τοῦ
52 κύκλου ἐπέσκηψε μοῖραν. οὓς δὴ τὰ ξίφη
ἀνελομένους ἐκέλευε τὰς καμήλους αἳ ταύτῃ
53 εἱστήκεσαν κτείνειν. τότε Μαυρούσιοι μὲν ὅσοι
ἐκείνῃ ἐτετάχατο ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, οἱ δὲ ξὺν τῷ
Σολόμωνι κτείνουσι καμήλους ἀμφὶ διακοσίας,
αὐτίκα τε ὁ κύκλος, ἐπεὶ αἱ κάμηλοι ἔπεσον,
54 ἐσβατὸς Ῥωμαίοις ἐγένετο. καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν δρόμῳ
ἐς τὸ τοῦ κύκλου μέσον ἐχώρουν, ἔνθα αἱ Μαυ-
ρουσίων γυναῖκες ἐκάθηντο· οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι
ἐκπεπληγμένοι ἐς τὸ ὄρος ὅπερ ἄγχιστα ἦν
ἀποχωροῦσι, φεύγοντάς τε αὐτοὺς ξὺν πάσῃ
55 ἀκοσμίᾳ ἐπισπόμενοι Ῥωμαῖοι ἔκτεινον. καὶ
λέγονται Μαυρουσίων μύριοι ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ
ἀποθανεῖν· γυναῖκές τε πᾶσαι ξὺν τοῖς παισὶν
56 ἐν ἀνδραπόδων λόγῳ ἐγένοντο. καὶ καμήλους
οἱ στρατιῶται πάσας, ὅσας οὐκ ἔκτειναν, ἐληί-
σαντο. οὕτω τε Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν ξὺν πάσῃ τῇ
λείᾳ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ᾔεσαν, τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἑορτὴν
ἄξοντες.[1]

XII

Οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι χρώμενοι θυμῷ πανδημεὶ
ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους αὖθις, οὐδένα σφῶν ἀπολιπόν-
τες, ἐστράτευσαν, καὶ καταθεῖν τὰ ἐν Βυζακίῳ
χωρία ἤρξαντο, οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας τῶν σφίσι
2 παραπιπτόντων φειδόμενοι. ἄρτι τε Σολόμωνι
ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐληλακότι βάρβαροι πλήθει με-
γάλῳ ἐς Βυζάκιον ἐληλυθέναι καὶ ληίζεσθαι
πάντα τὰ ἐκείνῃ ἠγγέλλοντο. ἄρας οὖν κατὰ

[1] ἄξοντες PO : ἄγοντες V Theophanes.

less than five hundred men, made an attack upon the other portion of the circle.[1] These men he commanded to draw their swords and kill the camels which stood at that point. Then the Moors who were stationed there beat a hasty retreat, and the men under Solomon killed about two hundred camels, and straightway, when the camels fell, the circle became accessible to the Romans. And they advanced on the run into the middle of the circle where the women of the Moors were sitting; meanwhile the barbarians in consternation withdrew to the mountain which was close by, and as they fled in complete disorder the Romans followed behind and killed them. And it is said that ten thousand of the Moors perished in this encounter, while all the women together with the children were made slaves. And the soldiers secured as booty all the camels which they had not killed. Thus the Romans with all their plunder went to Carthage to celebrate the festival of triumph.

XII

But the barbarians, being moved with anger, once more took the field in a body against the Romans, leaving behind not one of their number, and they began to overrun the country in Byzacium, sparing none of any age of those who fell in their way. And when Solomon had just marched into Carthage it was reported that the barbarians with a great host had come into Byzacium and were plundering everything there. He therefore departed quickly with his

[1] The side toward the mountains; cf. § 20.

3 τάχος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ᾔει. γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Βουργάωνι, ἔνθα οἱ πολέμιοι ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο, ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἀντεκάθητο, ὅπως, ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ γένωνται
4 οἱ Μαυρούσιοι, τῆς ξυμβολῆς ἄρχοι. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνοι ἐν τῷ ὄρει ἔμενον, διεῖπέ τε ὡς ἐς μάχην καὶ διεκόσμει τὸ στράτευμα, οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδίον ἥκιστα Ῥωμαίοις τὸ λοιπὸν ἐς μάχην ἰέναι διενοοῦντο (ἤδη γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἄμαχόν τι δέος ἐσῄει), ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄρει ἤλπιζον ῥᾷον αὐτῶν
5 περιέσεσθαι τῷ πολέμῳ. ἔστι δὲ τὸ ὄρος ὁ Βουργάων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον μὲν ἀπότομον καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον δεινῶς ἄβατον, τὰ δὲ πρὸς
6 ἑσπέραν εὐέφοδόν τε καὶ ὑπτίως ἔχον. καὶ σκοπέλω ὑψηλὼ δύο ἀνέχετον νάπην τινὰ ἐν μέσῳ σφῶν ἐργαζομένω, στενὴν μὲν κομιδῇ, ἐς
7 βάθος δέ τι ἄφατον[1] κατατείνουσαν. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι τὴν μὲν ἄκραν τοῦ ὄρους ἀπέλιπον ἀνδρῶν ἔρημον, οὐδὲν ἐνθένδε πολέμιον οἰόμενοι σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀμφὶ τὸν πρόποδα χῶρον ἔλιπον οὗ δὴ εὐπρόσοδος ὁ Βουργάων ἦν.
8 κατὰ δὲ τὰ μέσα στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον, ὅπως, ἢν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἀνιόντες μάχης ἄρξωσιν, αὐτοὶ ἤδη ὕπερθεν ἐκείνων γενόμενοι
9 κατὰ κορυφὴν βάλλωσιν. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ ἵπποι πολλοὶ ἢ ἐς φυγὴν παρεσκευασμένοι, ἢ ἐς τὴν δίωξιν, ἢν τῆς μάχης κρατήσωσι.

10 Σολόμων δέ, ἐπεὶ εἶδε τοὺς Μαυρουσίους οὐκέτι ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ ἐθέλοντας διαμάχεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα τῇ προσεδρείᾳ τὸ Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ἐν χωρίῳ

[1] ἄφατον VO : ἄβατον P.

whole army and marched against them. And when he reached Bourgaon, where the enemy were encamped, he remained some days in camp over against them, in order that, as soon as the Moors should get on level ground, he might begin the battle. But since they remained on the mountain, he marshalled his army and arrayed it for battle; the Moors, however, had no intention of ever again engaging in battle with the Romans in level country (for already an irresistible fear had come over them), but on the mountain they hoped to overcome them more easily. Now Mt. Bourgaon is for the most part precipitous and on the side toward the east extremely difficult to ascend, but on the west it is easily accessible and rises in an even slope. And there are two lofty peaks which rise up, forming between them a sort of vale, very narrow, but of incredible depth. Now the barbarians left the peak of the mountain unoccupied, thinking that on this side no hostile movement would be made against them; and they left equally unprotected the space about the foot of the mountain where Bourgaon was easy of access. But at the middle of the ascent they made their camp and remained there, in order that, if the enemy should ascend and begin battle with them, they might at the outset, being on higher ground, shoot down upon their heads. They also had on the mountain many horses, prepared either for flight or for the pursuit, if they should win the battle.

Now when Solomon saw that the Moors were unwilling to fight another battle on the level ground, and also that the Roman army was opposed to making

ἐρήμῳ ἤχθετο, ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐν
11 Βουργάωνι ἠπείγετο. ἰδὼν δὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας καταπεπληγμένους τῷ τῶν ἐναντίων ὁμίλῳ πολυπλασίῳ ἢ ἐν τῇ προτέρᾳ μάχῃ γεγενημένῳ, ξυγ-
12 καλέσας τὸ πλῆθος ἔλεξε τοιάδε· "Τὸ μὲν δέος ᾧ πρὸς ὑμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι χρῶνται, οὐχ ἑτέρου του κατηγόρου δεῖται, ἀλλ' αὐτεπάγγελτον ἐξελήλεγκται τὴν οἴκοθεν ἐπαγόμενον μαρτυρίαν.
13 ὁρᾶτε γὰρ δή που τοὺς ἐναντίους εἰς τόσας μὲν καὶ τόσας μυριάδας συνειλεγμένους, οὐ τολμῶντας δὲ ἡμῖν εἰς τὸ πεδίον καταβαίνοντας ξυμβαλεῖν, οὐδὲ πιστεύειν ἐπὶ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντας, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν τοῦ χωρίου τούτου δυσκολίαν κατα-
14 φυγόντας. ὥστε ὑμῖν οὐδέ τι ἐγκελεύεσθαι ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἐπάναγκες. οἷς γὰρ τὰ πράγματα καὶ ἡ τῶν πολεμίων ἀσθένεια τὸ θαρσεῖν δίδωσιν, οὐδὲν οἶμαι τῆς ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφελείας
15 προσδεῖ. τοσοῦτον δὲ ὑπομνῆσαι ὑμᾶς δεήσει ὡς, ἢν μετὰ εὐψυχίας καὶ τήνδε τὴν ξυμβολὴν διενέγκωμεν, λελείψεται ἡμῖν, Βανδίλων τε νενικημένων καὶ Μαυρουσίων εἰς ταὐτὸ τύχης ἐληλακότων, τῶν Λιβύης ἀγαθῶν ἀπόνασθαι πάντων, οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ πολέμιον ἐννοεῖν ἔχουσιν.
16 ὅπως δὲ μὴ κατὰ κορυφὴν ὑμᾶς οἱ πολέμιοι βάλλωσι, μηδέ τι ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου ἡμῖν γίγνοιτο βλάβος, ἐγὼ προνοήσω."
17 Τοσαῦτα παρακελευσάμενος Σολόμων, Θεόδωρον ἐκέλευεν, ὃς τῶν ἐξκουβιτώρων ἡγεῖτο

[1] In the late Empire the *excubitores*, 300 in number, constituted the select guard of the palace. Their commander, *comes excubitorum*, held high rank at court; cf.

a siege in a desert place, he was eager to come to an encounter with the enemy on Bourgaon. But inasmuch as he saw that the soldiers were stricken with terror because of the multitude of their opponents, which was many times greater than it had been in the previous battle, he called together the army and spoke as follows: "The fear which the enemy feel toward you needs no other arraignment, but voluntarily pleads guilty, bringing forward, as it does, the testimony of its own witnesses. For you see, surely, our opponents gathered in so many tens and tens of thousands, but not daring to come down to the plain and engage with us, unable to feel confidence even in their own selves, but taking refuge in the difficulty of this place. It is therefore not even necessary to address any exhortation to you, at the present time at least. For those to whom both the circumstances and the weakness of the enemy give courage, need not, I think, the additional assistance of words. But of this one thing it will be needful to remind you, that if we fight out this engagement also with brave hearts, it will remain for us, having defeated the Vandals and reduced the Moors to the same fortune, to enjoy all the good things of Libya, having no thought whatever of an enemy in our minds. But as to preventing the enemy from shooting down upon our heads, and providing that no harm come to us from the nature of the place, I myself shall make provision."

After making this exhortation Solomon commanded Theodorus, who led the "excubitores [1]" (for thus the

VIII. xxi. 1, where we are told that Belisarius held this position, and *Arcana* 6. 10, where Justin, afterwards emperor, is mentioned.

(οὕτω γὰρ τοὺς φύλακας Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι), πεζοὺς χιλίους ἐπαγαγόμενον ἀμφὶ δείλην ὀψίαν ἔχοντά τε καὶ τῶν σημείων τινὰ ἐς τὰ πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον τοῦ Βουργάωνος λάθρα ἀναβῆναι, οὗ μάλιστα δύσοδόν τε τὸ ὄρος καὶ σχεδόν τι ἀπόρευτον ἦν, ἐπιστείλας ὥστε, ἐπειδὰν ἄγχι ἐς τὸν τοῦ ὄρους κολωνὸν ἵκωνται, ἐνταῦθα ἡσυχάζοντας τὸ λοιπὸν διανυκτερεύειν, ἅμα τε ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι καθύπερθεν φαινομένους τῶν πολεμίων
18 καὶ τὰ σημεῖα ἐνδεικνυμένους βάλλειν. ὁ δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. καὶ ἐπεὶ πόρρω ἦν τῶν νυκτῶν, διὰ τοῦ κρημνώδους ἐγγὺς τοῦ σκοπέλου ἀφικόμενοι μὴ ὅτι Μαυρουσίους, ἀλλὰ καὶ
19 Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας ἔλαθον· ἐς προφυλακὴν[1] γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ ἐστέλλοντο, μή τις ἔξωθεν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον κακουργήσων ἴοι. ὄρθρου δὲ βαθέος Σολόμων παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ κατὰ τοῦ Βουργάωνος
20 τὰ ἔσχατα ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἀνέβαινε.[2] καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρωῒ ἐγεγόνει ἐγγύς τε οἱ πολέμιοι καθεωρῶντο, οὐκέτι γυμνήν, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον, οἱ στρατιῶται τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολὴν ὁρῶντες, ἀλλὰ ἀνδρῶν τε ἀνάπλεων καὶ σημεῖα Ῥωμαϊκὰ ἐνδεικνυμένων (ἤδη γὰρ καὶ ὑπέφαινέ[3] τι ἡμέρας)
21 διηπτοροῦντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ ἦρχον, οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι τὸ στράτευμα οἰκεῖον εἶναι καὶ οἱ βάρβαροι ἐν μέσῳ τῶν πολεμίων γεγονέναι ᾐσθάνοντο, βαλλόμενοι δὲ ἑκατέρωθεν, καὶ οὐ παρὸν σφίσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀμύνεσθαι, ἐς ἀλκὴν μὲν οὐκέτι ἔβλεπον, ἐς φυγὴν δὲ αὐτίκα

[1] προφυλακὴν V : πρὸς φυλακὴν P, φυλακὴν O.
[2] ἀνέβαινε PO : ἀνέφαινε V.
[3] ὑπέφαινέ O : ὑπερέφαινε V, ὑπερφαίνει P.

Romans call their guards), to take with him a thousand infantrymen toward the end of the afternoon and with some of the standards to go up secretly on the east side of Bourgaon, where the mountain is most difficult of ascent and, one might say, impracticable, commanding him that, when they arrived near the crest of the mountain, they should remain quietly there and pass the rest of the night, and that at sunrise they should appear above the enemy and displaying the standards commence to shoot. And Theodorus did as directed. And when it was well on in the night, they climbed up the precipitous slope and reached a point near the peak without being noticed either by the Moors or even by any of the Romans; for they were being sent out, it was said, as an advance guard, to prevent anyone from coming to the camp from the outside to do mischief. And at early dawn Solomon with the whole army went up against the enemy to the outskirts of Bourgaon. And when morning had come and the enemy were seen near at hand, the soldiers were completely at a loss, seeing the summit of the mountain no longer unoccupied, as formerly, but covered with men who were displaying Roman standards; for already some daylight was beginning to shew. But when those on the peak began their attack, the Romans perceived that the army was their own and the barbarians that they had been placed between their enemy's forces, and being shot at from both sides and having no opportunity to ward off the enemy, they thought no more of resistance but turned, all of them, to a

22 ξύμπαντες ὥρμηντο. οὔτε δὲ ἐς τοῦ Βουργάωνος
τὴν ὑπερβολὴν ἀναδραμεῖν ἔχοντες, πρὸς τῶν
πολεμίων κατεχομένην, οὔτε ἐς τὸ ὁμαλὲς διὰ τοῦ
πρόποδός πη ἰέναι,[1] ἐνθένδε σφίσιν ἐπικειμένων
τῶν ἐναντίων, ἔς τε τὴν νάπην καὶ ἐς τῶν σκοπέ-
λων τὸν ἕτερον δρόμῳ πολλῷ ᾔεσαν, οἱ μὲν αὐτοῖς
23 ἵπποις, οἱ δὲ καὶ πεζῇ. ἅτε δὲ ὅμιλος πολὺς ἐν
φόβῳ καὶ θορύβῳ μεγάλῳ φεύγοντες, σφᾶς τε
αὐτοὺς ἔκτεινον καὶ ἐς τὴν νάπην βαθεῖαν κομιδῆ
οὖσαν ἐσπίπτοντες ἀεὶ οἱ πρῶτοι ἔθνησκον, τοῖς
μέντοι ὄπισθεν ἰοῦσιν οὐ παρείχοντο τοῦ κακοῦ
24 αἴσθησιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἵππων τε καὶ
ἀνθρώπων ἡ νάπη ἔμπλεως γενομένη διάβασιν ἐκ
τοῦ Βουργάωνος ἐς ὄρος ἐποίει τὸ ἕτερον, ἐνταῦθα
ἐσώζοντο οἱ ὑπολειπόμενοι, διὰ τῶν σωμάτων τὴν
25 πορείαν ποιούμενοι. ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ
πόνῳ Μαυρουσίων μὲν μυριάδες πέντε, ὡς αὐτῶν
ἰσχυρίζοντο οἱ περιόντες, Ῥωμαίων δὲ τὸ παρά-
παν οὐδείς, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πληγήν τινα ἔλαβεν ἢ
πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἢ τύχης αὐτῷ ξυμβάσης
τινός, ἀλλ' ἀκραιφνεῖς πάντες τῆς νίκης ἀπώ-
26 ναντο ταύτης. διέφυγον δὲ καὶ οἱ τῶν βαρβάρων
ἡγούμενοι πάντες, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι Ἐσδιλάσας
27 πίστεις λαβὼν Ῥωμαίοις αὑτὸν ἐνεχείρισε. γυν-
αικῶν μέντοι καὶ παίδων λείαν τοσαύτην τὸ
πλῆθος Ῥωμαῖοι εἷλον ὥστε προβάτου τιμῆς
παῖδα Μαυρούσιον τοῖς ὠνεῖσθαι βουλομένοις
28 ἀπέδοντο. καὶ τότε Μαυρουσίων τοὺς ὑπολειπο-
μένους γυναικῶν τῶν σφετέρων τὸ λόγιον ἐσῄει,
ὡς ἄρα τὸ γένος αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀγενείου
ὀλεῖται.

[1] πη ἰέναι VO : προϊέναι P.

hasty flight. And since they could neither run up to the top of Bourgaon, which was held by the enemy, nor go to the plain anywhere over the lower slopes of the mountain, since their opponents were pressing upon them from that side, they went with a great rush to the vale and the unoccupied peak, some even with their horses, others on foot. But since they were a numerous throng fleeing in great fear and confusion, they kept killing each other, and as they rushed into the vale, which was exceedingly deep, those who were first were being killed constantly, but their plight could not be perceived by those who were coming up behind. And when the vale became full of dead horses and men, and the bodies made a passage from Bourgaon to the other mountain, then the remainder were saved by making the crossing over the bodies. And there perished in this struggle, among the Moors fifty thousand, as was declared by those of them who survived, but among the Romans no one at all, nor indeed did anyone receive even a wound, either at the hand of the enemy or by any accident happening to him, but they all enjoyed this victory unscathed. All of the leaders of the barbarians also made their escape, except Esdilasas, who received pledges and surrendered himself to the Romans. So great, however, was the multitude of women and children whom the Romans seized as booty, that they would sell a Moorish boy for the price of a sheep to any who wished to buy. And then the remainder of the Moors recalled the saying of their women, to the effect that their nation would be destroyed by a beardless man.[1]

[1] Cf. chap. viii. 14. Procopius has explained in III. xi. 6 that Solomon was a eunuch.

29 Τὸ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στράτευμα ξύν τε τῇ λείᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐσδιλάσᾳ ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐσήλαυνον· τῶν δὲ βαρβάρων ὅσοις μὴ ἀπολωλέναι ξυμβέβηκεν, ἐν Βυζακίῳ μὲν ἱδρῦσθαι ἀδύνατα ἐδόκει εἶναι, ὅπως μὴ ὀλίγοι ὄντες πρὸς Λιβύων τῶν σφίσιν ὁμόρων βιάζωνται, ξὺν δὲ ἄρχουσι τοῖς σφετέροις εἰς Νουμιδίαν ἀφικόμενοι ἱκέται γίνονται Ἰαύδα, ὃς τῶν ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίων
30 ἦρχε. μόνοι δὲ Μαυρουσίων ἐν Βυζακίῳ διέμειναν ὧν ἡγεῖτο Ἀντάλας, ὃς δὴ ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τὴν ἐς Ῥωμαίους πίστιν φυλάξας κακῶν ἀπαθὴς ξὺν τοῖς ὑπηκόοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἔμεινεν.

XIII

Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἐγένετο, ἐν τούτῳ Ἰαύδας ὃς τῶν ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίων ἦρχε, πλέον ἢ τρισμυρίους ἄνδρας μαχίμους ἐπαγόμενος ἐληίζετο τὰ ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας χωρία, ἠνδρα-
2 πόδιζέ τε τῶν Λιβύων πολλούς. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἀλθίας ἐν Κεντουρίαις τῶν ἐκείνῃ φρουρίων φυλακὴν ἔχων· ὃς τῶν αἰχμαλώτων τινὰς ἀφελέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ξὺν Οὔννοις τοῖς αὐτῷ ἑπομένοις, ἑβδομήκοντα μάλ-
3 ιστα οὖσιν, ἔξω τοῦ φρουρίου ἐγένετο. λογισάμενός τε ὡς οὐχ οἷός τέ ἐστι πλήθει Μαυρουσίων τοσούτῳ ξὺν ἀνδράσιν ἑβδομήκοντα ἐς χεῖρας ἰέναι, στενοχωρίαν καταλαβεῖν τινα ἤθελεν, ὅπως ἂν δι᾽ αὐτῆς ὁδῷ ἰόντων τῶν πολεμίων τῶν τινας
4 αἰχμαλώτων ἀναρπάσαι δυνατὸς εἴη. καὶ (οὐ γάρ ἐστι τοιαύτη τις ἐνταῦθα ὁδός, ἐπεὶ πεδία

So the Roman army, together with its booty and with Esdilasas, marched into Carthage; and those of the barbarians who had not perished decided that it was impossible to settle in Byzacium, lest they, being few, should be treated with violence by the Libyans who were their neighbours, and with their leaders they went into Numidia and made themselves suppliants of Iaudas, who ruled the Moors in Aurasium.[1] And the only Moors who remained in Byzacium were those led by Antalas, who during this time had kept faith with the Romans and together with his subjects had remained unharmed.

XIII

But during the time when these things were happening in Byzacium, Iaudas, who ruled the Moors in Aurasium, bringing more than thirty thousand fighting men, was plundering the country of Numidia and enslaving many of the Libyans. Now it so happened that Althias[2] in Centuriae was keeping guard over the forts there; and he, being eager to take from the enemy some of their captives, went outside the fort with the Huns who were under his command, to the number of about seventy. And reasoning that he was not able to cope with such a great multitude of Moors with only seventy men, he wished to occupy some narrow pass, so that, while the enemy were marching through it, he might be able to snatch up some of the captives. And since there are no such roads there, because flat plains

[1] See III. viii. 5.

[2] A *comes foederatorum*, mentioned in III. xi. 6.

ὕπτια πανταχῇ τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ἐστὶν) ἐπενόει
τάδε.
5 Πόλις ἔστι που πλησίον Τίγισις ὄνομα,
τότε μὲν ἀτείχιστος οὖσα, κρήνην δὲ μεγάλην
6 τινὰ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ πολλῇ ἔχουσα. ταύτην
Ἀλθίας τὴν κρήνην καταλαβεῖν ἔγνω, λογισά-
μενος ὡς δίψῃ ἀναγκαζόμενοι ἐνταῦθα πάντως[1]
ἀφίξονται οἱ πολέμιοι· ἄλλο γὰρ ὕδωρ ἄγχιστά
7 πῃ ὡς ἥκιστά ἐστι. πᾶσι μὲν οὖν τὸ τοῦ
πλήθους ἐκλογιζομένοις παράλογον ἔδοξε μανιώ-
8 δης αὐτοῦ ἡ ἔννοια εἶναι. οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι
κόπῳ τε πολλῷ καὶ πνίγει μεγάλῳ θέρους ὥρᾳ
ὡμιληκότες, δίψῃ τε, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
μεγίστῃ ἐχόμενοι, παρὰ τὴν κρήνην δρόμῳ πολλῷ
9 ἦλθον, οὐδὲν ἐναντίωμα ἐν νῷ ἔχοντες. ἐπειδὴ
δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων ἐχόμενον εὗρον,
ἀπορούμενοι ξύμπαντες ἔστησαν, τοῦ πλείστου
τῆς ἰσχύος ἤδη δαπανηθέντος σφίσι τῇ τοῦ
10 ὕδατος ἐπιθυμίᾳ. διὸ δὴ Ἰαύδας τῷ Ἀλθίᾳ εἰς
λόγους ἥκων τὸ τριτημόριόν οἱ δώσειν ὡμολόγει
τῆς λείας, ἐφ' ᾧ δὴ Μαυρούσιοι πίωσιν ἅπαντες.
11 ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν λόγον ἐνδέχεσθαι οὐδαμῇ ἤθελε,
μονομαχεῖν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἠξίου.
12 τοῦ δὲ Ἰαύδα ταύτην δὴ δεξαμένου τὴν πρό-
κλησιν, ξυνέκειτο ἡσσηθέντος, ἂν οὕτω τύχῃ, τοῦ
13 Ἀλθία Μαυρουσίους πιεῖν. ἔχαιρέ τε ἅπας ὁ
τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατός, εὐέλπιδες ὄντες, ἐπεὶ
Ἀλθίας μὲν ἰσχνός τε ἦν καὶ οὐ μέγας τὸ σῶμα,
Ἰαύδας δὲ κάλλιστός τε ἦν καὶ μαχιμώτατος
14 Μαυρουσίων ἁπάντων. ἄμφω μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς
ἐτύγχανον ὄντες. ὁ δὲ Ἰαύδας τὸ δοράτιον ἠκόν-

[1] πάντως PO : πως V.

extend in every direction, he devised the following plan.

There is a city not far distant, named Tigisis, then an unwalled place, but having a great spring at a place which was very closely shut in. Althias therefore decided to take possession of this spring, reasoning that the enemy, compelled by thirst, would surely come there; for there is no other water at all close by. Now it seemed to all upon considering the disparity of the armies that his plan was insane. But the Moors came up feeling very much wearied and greatly oppressed by the heat in the summer weather, and naturally almost overcome by an intense thirst, and they made for the spring with a great rush, having no thought of meeting any obstacle. But when they found the water held by the enemy, they all halted, at a loss what to do, the greatest part of their strength having been already expended because of their desire for water. Iaudas therefore had a parley with Althias and agreed to give him the third part of the booty, on condition that the Moors should all drink. But Althias was by no means willing to accept the proposal, but demanded that he fight with him in single combat for the booty. And this challenge being accepted by Iaudas, it was agreed that if it so fell out that Althias was overcame, the Moors should drink. And the whole Moorish army was rejoiced, being in good hope, since Althias was lean and not tall of body, while Iaudas was the finest and most warlike of all the Moors. Now both of them were, as it happened, mounted. And Iaudas hurled his spear first, but as

τισε πρῶτος, οὗπερ Ἀλθίας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰόντος
χειρὶ λαβέσθαι τῇ δεξιᾷ παρὰ δόξαν ἰσχύσας
15 Ἰαύδαν τε καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους κατέπληξε. τῇ δὲ
λαιᾷ χειρὶ τὸ τόξον ἐντείνας αὐτίκα, ἐπεὶ ἀμφι-
δέξιος ἦν, τὸν Ἰαύδα ἵππον βαλὼν ἔκτεινε.
16 πεσόντος τε αὐτοῦ ἵππον ἕτερον τῷ ἄρχοντι
Μαυρούσιοι[1] ἦγον, ἐφ' ὃν ἀναθορὼν Ἰαύδας
εὐθὺς ἔφυγε· καί οἱ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ὁ τῶν Μαυρου-
17 σίων στρατὸς εἵπετο. ὅ τε Ἀλθίας τούς τε
αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὴν λείαν ἀφελόμενος ξύμπασαν
ὄνομα μέγα ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου ἀνὰ πᾶσαν
Λιβύην ἔσχε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῇδε ἐχώρησε.
18 Σολόμων δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ὀλίγον τινὰ διατρί-
ψας χρόνον, ἐπί τε ὄρος τὸ Αὐράσιον καὶ Ἰαύδαν
ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα, ἐπενεγκὼν αὐτῷ ὅτι, ἡνίκα ὁ
Ῥωμαίων στρατὸς τὴν ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἀσχολίαν εἶχε,
πολλὰ ἐληίσατο τῶν ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ χωρίων. καὶ
19 ἦν δὲ οὕτως. ὥρμων δὲ Σολόμωνα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰαύδαν
Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντες ἕτεροι, Μασσωνᾶς τε καὶ
Ὀρταΐας, τῆς σφετέρας ἔχθρας ἕνεκα· Μασσωνᾶς
μέν, ὅτι οἱ τὸν πατέρα Μεφανίαν κηδεστὴς ὢν
Ἰαύδας δόλῳ ἔκτεινεν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος, ὅτι ξὺν τῷ
Μαστίνᾳ, ὃς τῶν ἐν Μαυριτανίᾳ βαρβάρων ἡγεῖ-
το, ἐξελάσαι αὐτόν τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους ὧν ἦρχεν
ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐβούλευσεν, ἔνθα δὴ ἐκ παλαιοῦ
20 ᾤκηντο. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ῥωμαίων στρατός, ἡγουμένου
αὐτοῖς Σολόμωνος, καὶ Μαυρουσίων ὅσοι σφίσιν
ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἦλθον, ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐς ποτα-
μὸν Ἀβίγαν, ὃς τὸ Αὐράσιον παραρρέων ἀρδεύει
21 τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία. τῷ δὲ Ἰαύδᾳ ἐς μὲν τὸ πεδίον
τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀντιτάξασθαι ἀξύμφορον εἶναι

[1] Μαυρούσιοι Maltretus: μαυρουσίων MSS.

it was coming toward him Althias succeeded with amazing skill in catching it with his right hand, thus filling Iaudas and the enemy with consternation. And with his left hand he drew his bow instantly, for he was ambidextrous, and hit and killed the horse of Iaudas. And as he fell, the Moors brought another horse for their commander, upon which Iaudas leaped and straightway fled; and the Moorish army followed him in complete disorder. And Althias, by thus taking from them the captives and the whole of the booty, won a great name in consequence of this deed throughout all Libya. Such, then, was the course of these events.

And Solomon, after delaying a short time in Carthage, led his army toward Mt. Aurasium and Iaudas, alleging against him that, while the Roman army was occupied in Byzacium, he had plundered many of the places in Numidia. And this was true. Solomon was also urged on against Iaudas by the other commanders of the Moors, Massonas and Ortaïas, because of their personal enmity; Massonas, because his father Mephanias, who was the father-in-law of Iaudas, had been treacherously slain by him, and Ortaïas, because Iaudas, together with Mastinas, who ruled over the barbarians in Mauretania, had purposed to drive him and all the Moors whom he ruled from the land where they had dwelt from of old. So the Roman army, under the leadership of Solomon, and those of the Moors who came into alliance with them, made their camp on the river Abigas, which flows along by Aurasium and waters the land there. But to Iaudas it seemed inexpedient to array himself against the enemy in the

ἐφαίνετο, τὰ δὲ ἐν Αὐρασίῳ ἐξηρτύετο ὅπη οἱ ἐδόκει τοῖς ἐπιοῦσιν ὡς δυσκολώτατα ἔσεσθαι.
22 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἡμερῶν μὲν ὁδῷ δέκα καὶ τριῶν μάλιστα Καρχηδόνος διέχει, μέγιστον δὲ ἁπάν-
23 των ἐστὶν ὧν ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν. ἡμερῶν γὰρ τριῶν ἐνταῦθα εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ περίοδός ἐστι. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐς αὐτὸ ἰέναι βουλομένῳ δύσοδόν τέ ἐστι καὶ δεινῶς ἄγριον, ἄνω δὲ ἥκοντι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμαλεῖ γενομένῳ πεδία τε φαίνεται καὶ κρῆναι πολλαὶ ποταμούς τε ποιοῦσαι καὶ παραδείσων πολύ τι χρῆμα
24 θαυμάσιον οἷον. καὶ ὅ τε σῖτος ὃς ἐνταῦθα φύεται ἥ τε ὀπώρα ἑκάστη διπλασία τὸ μέγεθός ἐστιν ἢ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ ἁπάσῃ Λιβύῃ γίνεσθαι πέφυ-
25 κεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ φρούρια ἐνταῦθά πη ἀπημελημένα, τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀναγκαῖα τοῖς ταύτῃ ᾠκημένοις
26 εἶναι. ἐξ ὅτου γὰρ τὸ Αὐράσιον Μαυρούσιοι Βανδίλους ἀφείλοντο, οὐδείς πω ἐς αὐτὸ πολέμιος ἦλθεν οὐδὲ ἐς δέος τοὺς βαρβάρους κατέστησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν Ταμούγαδιν, ἣ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ πεδίου πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα ἥλιον πολυάνθρωπος οὖσα ᾤκητο, ἔρημον ἀνθρώπων οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ποιησάμενοι ἐς ἔδαφος καθεῖλον, ὅπως μὴ ἐνταῦθα ᾖ δυνατὰ ἐνστρατοπεδεύσασθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ κατὰ πρόφασιν τῆς πόλεως
27 ἄγχι ἐς τὸ ὄρος ἰέναι. εἶχον δὲ οἱ ταύτῃ Μαυρούσιοι καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑσπέραν τοῦ Αὐρασίου χώ-
28 ραν, πολλήν τε καὶ ἀγαθὴν οὖσαν. καὶ τούτων ἐπέκεινα Μαυρουσίων ἔθνη ἕτερα ᾤκηντο, ὧν ἦρχεν Ὀρταΐας, ὃς Σολόμωνί τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις,
29 ὡς ἔμπροσθεν ἐρρήθη, ξύμμαχος ἦλθε. τούτου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἐγὼ λέγοντος ἤκουσα ὡς ὑπὲρ τὴν χώραν ἧς αὐτὸς ἄρχοι, οὐδένες ἀνθρώπων οἰκοῦ-

plain, but he made his preparations on Aurasium in such a way as seemed to him would offer most difficulty to his assailants. This mountain is about thirteen days' journey distant from Carthage, and the largest of all known to us. For its circuit is a three days' journey for an unencumbered traveller. And for one wishing to go upon it the mountain is difficult of access and extremely wild, but as one ascends and reaches the level ground plains are seen and many springs which form rivers and a great number of altogether wonderful parks. And the grain which grows here, and every kind of fruit, is double the size of that produced in all the rest of Libya. And there are fortresses also on this mountain, which are neglected, by reason of the fact that they do not seem necessary to the inhabitants. For since the time when the Moors wrested Aurasium from the Vandals,[1] not a single enemy had until now ever come there or so much as caused the barbarians to be afraid that they would come, but even the populous city of Tamougadis, situated against the mountain on the east at the beginning of the plain, was emptied of its population by the Moors and razed to the ground, in order that the enemy should not only not be able to encamp there, but should not even have the city as an excuse for coming near the mountain. And the Moors of that place held also the land to the west of Aurasium, a tract both extensive and fertile. And beyond these dwelt other nations of the Moors, who were ruled by Ortaïas, who had come, as was stated above, as an ally to Solomon and the Romans. And I have heard this man say that beyond the country which he ruled there was no

[1] Book III. viii. 5.

σιν, ἀλλὰ γῆ ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διήκει, ταύτης
τε ἐπέκεινα ἄνθρωποί εἰσιν οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ Μαυ-
ρούσιοι μελανόχροοι, ἀλλὰ λευκοί τε λίαν τὰ
σώματα καὶ τὰς κόμας ξανθοί. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ
ὧδέ πη ἔχει.

30 Σολόμων δὲ Μαυρουσίων τε τοὺς ξυμμάχους
δωρησάμενος χρήμασι μεγάλοις καὶ πολλὰ πα-
ρακελευσάμενος[1] παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐς ὄρος τὸ
Αὐράσιον ὡς ἐς μάχην διατεταγμένος ἀνέβαινεν,
οἰόμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῖς τε πολεμίοις διὰ
μάχης ἰέναι καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν διακρίνεσθαι, ὅπῃ ἂν
31 ᾖ βουλομένῃ τῇ τύχῃ. οὐ γὰρ οὖν οὐδὲ τροφάς,
ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγας, σφίσι τε καὶ τοῖς ἵπποις τοῖς
32 σφετέροις οἱ στρατιῶται ἐπήγοντο. πορευθέντες
δὲ ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ πολλῇ πεντήκοντα μάλιστα στα-
33 δίους ηὐλίσαντο. τοσαύτην τε ὁδὸν ἐς ἡμέραν
ἑκάστην ἀνύοντες ἑβδομαῖοι ἀφικνοῦνται ἐς χῶρον
ἔνθα φρούριόν τε παλαιὸν ἦν καὶ ποταμός τις
ἀένναος. Ὄρος Ἀσπίδος τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώσσῃ
34 καλοῦσι Λατῖνοι τὸν χῶρον. ἐνταῦθα σφίσι
στρατοπεδεύεσθαι ἠγγέλλοντο οἱ πολέμιοι, καὶ
ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο πολέμιόν τε
οὐδὲν ἀπήντα, στρατοπεδευσάμενοι καὶ ὡς ἐς μά-
χην παρασκευασάμενοι αὐτοῦ ἔμενον, ἡμερῶν τε
35 αὐτοῖς ἐνταῦθα τριῶν χρόνος ἐτρίβη. ὡς δὲ οἵ τε
πολέμιοι τὸ παράπαν σφίσιν ἐκποδὼν ἵσταντο
καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐπελελοίπει, ἐνθύμιον Σολόμωνί
τε καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πάσῃ ἐγένετο, ὡς ἄρα τις πρὸς
Μαυρουσίων τῶν ξυμμάχων ἐπιβουλὴ ἐς αὐτοὺς
36 γίνοιτο· οἵ γε, καίπερ οὐκ ἀμελετήτως τῆς ἐν
Αὐρασίῳ πορείας ἔχοντες, ἐπιστάμενοί τε, ὡς τὸ

[1] παρακελευσάμενος PO: παρασκευασάμενος V.

habitation of men, but desert land extending to a great distance, and that beyond that there are men, not black-skinned like the Moors, but very white in body and fair-haired. So much, then, for these things.

And Solomon, after bribing the Moorish allies with great sums of money and earnestly exhorting them, began the ascent of Mt. Aurasium with the whole army arrayed as for battle, thinking that on that day he would do battle with the enemy and just as he was have the matter out with them according as fortune should wish. Accordingly the soldiers did not even take with them any food, except a little, for themselves and their horses. And after proceeding over very rough ground for about fifty stades, they made a bivouac. And covering a similar distance each day they came on the seventh day to a place where there was an ancient fortress and an ever-flowing stream. The place is called "Shield Mountain" by the Romans in their own tongue.[1] Now it was reported to them that the enemy were encamped there, and when they reached this place and encountered no enemy, they made camp and, preparing themselves for battle, remained there; and three days' time was spent by them in that place. And since the enemy kept altogether out of their way, and their provisions had failed, the thought came to Solomon and to the whole army that there had been some plot against them on the part of the Moors who were their allies; for these Moors were not unacquainted with the conditions of travel on Aurasium, and understood,

[1] *i.e.* Clypea. Not the place mentioned in IV. x. 24.

εἰκός, ὅσα τοῖς πολεμίοις βεβουλευμένα ἐτύγχανεν, ἐς ἑκάστην μὲν αὐτοῖς ἡμέραν λάθρα ἐπειγόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἐλέγετο, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κατασκοπῆς ἕνεκα ἐς αὐτοὺς πρὸς Ῥωμαίων σταλέντες, οὐδὲν ἀγγεῖλαι ὑγιὲς ἔγνωσαν, ὅπως δὴ μὴ προμαθόντες τροφάς τε σφίσιν ἐς χρόνον πλείω ἔχοντες ἐς ὄρος τὸ Αὐράσιον ἀναβαίνοιεν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα παρασκευάσαιντο ὅπῃ ἄριστα ἔσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.
37 ὅλως δὲ ἐνέδραν σφίσι πρὸς ἀνδρῶν ξυμμάχων γεγενῆσθαι ὑποτοπήσαντες ἐς δέος ἦλθον, λογιζόμενοι ὡς ἄπιστοι λέγονται εἶναι Μαυρούσιοι φύσει, ἄλλως τε ἡνίκα Ῥωμαίοις ἢ ἄλλοις τισὶ ξυμμαχοῦντες ἐπὶ Μαυρουσίους στρατεύονται.
38 ὧν δὴ ἐνθυμηθέντες, ἅμα δὲ καὶ λιμῷ πιεζόμενοι, ἐνθένδε τε κατὰ τάχος ἀναχωροῦσιν ἄπρακτοι καὶ ἐς τὸ πεδίον ἀφικόμενοι χαράκωμα ἐποιήσαντο.
39 Μετὰ δὲ Σολόμων τοῦ στρατοῦ μοῖράν τινα φυλακῆς ἕνεκα ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ καταστησάμενος (χειμὼν γὰρ ἤδη ἦν) ξὺν τοῖς ἐπιλοίποις ἐς Καρχη-
40 δόνα ᾔει. ἔνθα δὴ ἕκαστα διεῖπέ τε καὶ διεκόσμει, ὅπως ἅμα ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ πλείονι παρασκευῇ καί, ἢν δύνηται, ξυμμάχων Μαυρουσίων ἐκτὸς ἐπὶ τὸ
41 Αὐράσιον αὖθις στρατεύοι. ἅμα δὲ καὶ στρατηγούς τε καὶ στρατιὰν ἄλλην καὶ νηῶν στόλον ἐπὶ Μαυρουσίους ἐξηρτύετο οἳ ἐν Σαρδοῖ τῇ νήσῳ
42 ἵδρυνται· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ νῆσος μεγάλη μέν ἐστι καὶ ἄλλως εὐδαίμων, ἐς τὰς δύο μάλιστα τῆς Σικελίας κατατείνουσα μοίρας (ἡμερῶν γὰρ ὁδὸν εἴκοσιν εὐζώνῳ ἀνδρὶ τὸ τῆς γῆς περίμετρον ἔχει), Ῥώμης

probably, what had been decided upon by the enemy; they were stealthily going out to meet them each day, it was said, and had also frequently been sent to their country by the Romans to reconnoitre, and had decided to make nothing but false reports, in order, no doubt, that the Romans, with no prior knowledge of conditions, might make the ascent of Mt. Aurasium without supplies for a longer time or without preparing themselves otherwise in the way which would be best. And, all things considered, the Romans were suspicious that an ambush had been set for them by men who were their allies and began to be afraid, reasoning that the Moors are said to be by nature untrustworthy at all times and especially whenever they march as allies with the Romans or any others against Moors. So, remembering these things, and at the same time being pinched by hunger, they withdrew from there with all speed without accomplishing anything, and, upon reaching the plain, constructed a stockade.

After this Solomon established a part of the army in Numidia to serve as a guard and with the remainder went to Carthage, since it was already winter. There he arranged and set everything in order, so that at the beginning of spring he might again march against Aurasium with a larger equipment and, if possible, without Moors as allies. At the same time he prepared generals and another army and a fleet of ships for an expedition against the Moors who dwell in the island of Sardinia; for this island is a large one and flourishing besides, being about two thirds as large as Sicily (for the perimeter of the island makes a journey of twenty days for an unencumbered traveller); and lying, as

τε καὶ Καρχηδόνος ἐν μέσῳ κειμένη πρὸς Μαυ-
43 ρουσίων τῶν ταύτῃ ᾠκημένων πιέζεται. Βανδίλοι γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐς τούτους τοὺς βαρβάρους ὀργῇ χρώμενοι ὀλίγους δή τινας σὺν ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐς
44 Σαρδὼ πέμψαντες ἐνταῦθα εἶρξαν. χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος τὰ ὄρη καταλαμβάνουσιν ἃ Καρανάλεως ἐγγύς πού ἐστι, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα λῃστείας ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς[1] ἐς τοὺς περιοίκους ποιούμενοι, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐχ ἧσσον ἐγένοντο ἢ τρισχίλιοι, καὶ ἐς τοὐμφανὲς καταθέοντες, λανθάνειν τε ἥκιστα ἀξιοῦντες ἅπαντα ἐληίζοντο τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία, Βαρβαρικῖνοι
45 πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων καλούμενοι. ἐπὶ τούτους δὴ τοὺς Μαυρουσίους ὁ Σολόμων ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χειμῶνι τὸν στόλον ἡτοίμαζε. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

XIV

Ἐν δὲ Ἰταλίᾳ κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοὺς αὐτοὺς τάδε γενέσθαι τετύχηκε. Βελισάριος ἐπὶ Θευδᾶτόν τε καὶ τὸ Γότθων ἔθνος πρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως ἐστέλλετο, καταπλεύσας δὲ ἐς Σικελίαν[2] ταύτην δὴ τὴν νῆσον πόνῳ οὐδενὶ ἔσχεν.
2 ὅντινα δὲ τρόπον, ἐν τοῖς ὄπισθέν μοι λόγοις λελέξεται, ὅτε με ὁ λόγος ἐς τῶν Ἰταλικῶν πραγμά-
3 των τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄγει. νῦν γάρ μοι οὐκ ἀπὸ τρόπου ἔδοξεν εἶναι ξύμπαντα ἀναγραψάμενον τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ ξυνενεχθέντα οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὸν λόγον τὸν ἀμφὶ Ἰταλίαν τε καὶ Γότθους ἰέναι.
4 Τὸν μὲν οὖν χειμῶνα τοῦτον Βελισάριος μὲν ἐν

[1] ἀφανοῦς VO : ἐμφανοῦς P.
[2] ἐς σικελίαν PO : ἐν σικελίᾳ V.

it does, between Rome and Carthage, it was oppressed by the Moors who dwelt there. For the Vandals in ancient times, being enraged against these barbarians, sent some few of them with their wives to Sardinia and confined them there. But as time went on they seized the mountains which are near Caranalis, at first making plundering expeditions secretly upon those who dwelt round about, but when they became no less than three thousand, they even made their raids openly, and with no desire for concealment plundered all the country there, being called Barbaricini[1] by the natives. It was against these barbarians, therefore, that Solomon was preparing the fleet during that winter. Such, then, was the course of events in Libya.

XIV

And in Italy during these same times the following events took place. Belisarius was sent against Theodatus and the Gothic nation by the Emperor Justinian, and sailing to Sicily he secured this island with no trouble. And the manner in which this was done will be told in the following pages, when the history leads me to the narration of the events in Italy. For it has not seemed to me out of order first to record all the events which happened in Libya and after that to turn to the portion of the history touching Italy and the Goths.

During this winter Belisarius remained in Syracuse

[1] The region in the interior of Sardinia called Barbargia or Barbagia still preserves this name. But Procopius' explanation of the origin of the barbarian settlers there has not been generally accepted.

Συρακούσαις, Σολόμων δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι διέτριψε.
5 καὶ τέρας ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἔτει ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι δει-
νότατον. ὁ γὰρ ἥλιος ἀκτίνων χωρὶς τὴν αἴγλην,
ὥσπερ ἡ σελήνη, ἐς τοῦτον δὴ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἅπαν-
τα ἠφίει, ἐκλείποντί τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐῴκει, τὴν
ἀμαρυγὴν τὴν αὐτοῦ οὐ καθαρὰν οὐδὲ ᾗπερ εἰώθει
6 ποιούμενος. ἐξ οὗ τε ξυμβῆναι τοῦτο τετύχηκεν,
οὔτε πόλεμος οὔτε λοιμὸς οὔτε τι ἄλλο ἐς θάνα-
τον φέρον τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀπέλιπε. χρόνος δὲ
ἦν ὅτε δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανὸς τὴν βασιλείαν
εἶχεν.
7 Ἅμα δὲ ἦρι ἀρχομένῳ, ὅτε οἱ Χριστιανοὶ
ἑορτὴν ἦγον ἣν δὴ Πασχαλίαν καλοῦσι, στρα-
τιώταις[1] στάσις ἐν Λιβύῃ ἐνέπεσεν. ἥ ὅπως τε
ἐφύη καὶ ἐς ὅ τι ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐρῶν ἔρχομαι.
8 Ἐπειδὴ Βανδίλοι ἡσσήθησαν τῇ μάχῃ, ὥσπερ
μοι ἔμπροσθεν εἴρηται, οἱ Ῥωμαίων στρατιῶται
τὰς αὐτῶν παῖδάς τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἐν γαμετῶν
9 ἐποιήσαντο λόγῳ. ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν ἑκάστη τὸν ἄνδρα
ἐνῆγε τῶν χωρίων τῆς κτήσεως μεταποιεῖσθαι
ὧν αὐτὴ πρότερον κυρία ἐτύγχανεν οὖσα, οὐχ
ὅσιον λέγουσα εἶναι, εἰ Βανδίλοις μὲν ξυνοικοῦσαι
τούτων ἀπώναντο, τοῖς δὲ αὐτοὺς νενικηκόσιν ἐς
γάμον ἐλθοῦσαι οὕτω δὴ τῶν σφίσιν ὑπαρχόντων
10 στερήσονται. ταῦτα δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν νῷ
ἔχοντες Σολόμωνι εἴκειν οὐκ ᾤοντο χρῆναι τὰ
Βανδίλων χωρία ἔς τε τὸ δημόσιον καὶ ἐς τὸν
βασιλέως οἶκον ἐθέλοντι ἀναγράψασθαι, φάσκοντί
τε ὡς τὰ μὲν ἀνδράποδα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα
χρήματα τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐς λάφυρα ἰέναι οὐκ
ἀπεικὸς εἶναι, γῆν μέντοι αὐτὴν βασιλεῖ τε καὶ

[1] στρατιώταις V : στρατιωτῶν PO.

and Solomon in Carthage. And it came about during this year that a most dread portent took place. For the sun gave forth its light without brightness, like the moon, during this whole year, and it seemed exceedingly like the sun in eclipse, for the beams it shed were not clear nor such as it is accustomed to shed. And from the time when this thing happened men were free neither from war nor pestilence nor any other thing leading to death. And it was the time when Justinian was in the tenth year of his 536–537 A.D.
reign.

At the opening of spring, when the Christians 536 A.D.
were celebrating the feast which they call Easter, there arose a mutiny among the soldiers in Libya. I shall now tell how it arose and to what end it came.

After the Vandals had been defeated in the battle, as I have told previously,[1] the Roman soldiers took their daughters and wives and made them their own by lawful marriage. And each one of these women kept urging her husband to lay claim to the possession of the lands which she had owned previously, saying that it was not right or fitting if, while living with the Vandals, they had enjoyed these lands, but after entering into marriage with the conquerors of the Vandals they were then to be deprived of their possessions. And having these things in mind, the soldiers did not think that they were bound to yield the lands of the Vandals to Solomon, who wished to register them as belonging to the commonwealth and to the emperor's house and said that while it was not unreasonable that the slaves and all other things of value should go as booty to the soldiers, the land itself belonged to the emperor

[1] Book III. xviii. 7 ff.

τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ προσήκειν, ἥπερ αὐτοὺς ἐξέθρεψέ τε καὶ στρατιώτας καλεῖσθαί τε καὶ εἶναι πεποίηκεν, οὐκ ἐφ' ᾧ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ χωρία κεκτήσονται ὅσα ἂν βαρβάρους ἐπιβατεύοντας τῆς Ῥωμαίων βασιλείας ἀφέλοιντο, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ᾧ ἐς τὸ δημόσιον ταῦτα ἰέναι, ὅθεν σφίσι τε ξυμβαίνει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι τὰς σιτήσεις
11 κομίζεσθαι. αὕτη μὲν τῆς στάσεως αἰτία ξυνέπεσε μία. καὶ ἑτέραν δέ τινα ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι τοιάνδε, ἢ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, ἅπαντα ξυνταράξαι τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ πράγματα
12 ἴσχυσεν. ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατοπέδῳ τῆς Ἀρείου δόξης οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ χιλίους στρατιώτας εἶναι ξυνέπεσεν· ὧν δὴ οἱ πολλοὶ βάρβαροι ἦσαν
13 καὶ αὐτῶν τινες ἐκ τοῦ Ἐρούλων ἔθνους. τούτους δὴ οἱ τῶν Βανδίλων ἱερεῖς ἐς τὴν στάσιν τὰ μάλιστα ὥρμων. οὐ γὰρ σφίσιν ἦν δυνατὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐξοσιοῦσθαι τὰ εἰωθότα, ἀλλὰ ἀπεκέκλειντο
14 καὶ μυστηρίων καὶ ἱερῶν ἁπάντων. οὐ γὰρ εἴα βασιλεὺς Ἰουστινιανὸς ἄνδρα Χριστιανὸν οὐ μεταλαχόντα δόξης ὀρθῆς ἢ βαπτίσματι ἢ ἄλλῳ
15 τῳ μυστηρίῳ χρῆσθαι. μάλιστα δὲ αὐτοὺς ἡ Πασχαλία ἑορτὴ ξυνετάραξε, καθ' ἣν οὐχ οἷοί τε ἐγίνοντο τὰ σφέτερα αὐτῶν παιδία τῷ θείῳ βαπτίζειν λουτρῷ, ἢ ἄλλο τι ἐργάζεσθαι ἐς
16 ταύτην δὴ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγον. ὥσπερ δὲ οὐχ ἱκανὰ ταῦτα τῷ δαιμονίῳ διαφθεῖραι τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχοντι, ξυνέπεσέ τι καὶ
17 ἄλλο τοῖς τὴν στάσιν μελετῶσιν ἐφόδιον. τοὺς γὰρ Βανδίλους, οὓς Βελισάριος ἐς Βυζάντιον

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[1] IV. iv. 30 and note.

and the empire of the Romans, which had nourished them and caused them to be called soldiers and to be such, not in order to win for themselves such land as they should wrest from the barbarians who were trespassing on the Roman empire, but that this land might come to the commonwealth, from which both they and all others secured their maintenance. This was one cause of the mutiny. And there was a second, concurrent, cause also, which was no less, perhaps even more, effective in throwing all Libya into confusion. It was as follows: In the Roman army there were, as it happened, not less than one thousand soldiers of the Arian faith; and the most of these were barbarians, some of these being of the Erulian [1] nation. Now these men were urged on to the mutiny by the priests of the Vandals with the greatest zeal. For it was not possible for them to worship God in their accustomed way, but they were excluded both from all sacraments and from all sacred rites. For the Emperor Justinian did not allow any Christian who did not espouse the orthodox faith to receive baptism or any other sacrament. But most of all they were agitated by the feast of Easter, during which they found themselves unable to baptize [2] their own children with the sacred water, or do anything else pertaining to this feast. And as if these things were not sufficient for Heaven, in its eagerness to ruin the fortunes of the Romans, it so fell out that still another thing provided an occasion for those who were planning the mutiny. For the Vandals whom Belisarius took to Byzantium were

[2] Baptism was administered only during the fifty days between Easter and Pentecost. Justinian had forbidden the baptism of Arians.

ἤνεγκε, κατεστήσατο βασιλεὺς ἐς καταλόγους ἱππικοὺς πέντε, ὅπως ἐν πόλεσι ταῖς ἑῴαις τὸν ἅπαντα ἱδρύσωνται χρόνον· οὓς καὶ Ἰουστινιανοὺς Βανδίλους καλέσας ἐκέλευσε ξὺν ναυσὶν ἐς τὴν
18 ἕω κομίζεσθαι. τούτων δὴ τῶν Βανδίλων στρατιωτῶν οἱ μὲν πλεῖστοι ἐς τὴν ἕω ἀφίκοντο καὶ τοὺς καταλόγους πληροῦντες ἐς οὓς διατετάχαται, ἄχρι τοῦδε ἐπὶ Πέρσας στρατεύονται· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι, ἀμφὶ τετρακοσίους ὄντες, ἐπεὶ ἐν Λέσβῳ ἐγένοντο, κεκολπωμένων σφίσι τῶν ἱστίων τοὺς ναύτας βιασάμενοι Πελοποννήσῳ προσέσχον.
19 ἐνθένδε τε ἀπάραντες ἐς Λιβύην κατέπλευσαν ἐν χωρίῳ ἐρήμῳ, οὗ δὴ τὰς ναῦς ἀπολιπόντες καὶ συσκευασάμενοι[1] ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Αὐράσιον καὶ
20 ἐς Μαυριτανίαν ἀνέβησαν. οἷς δὴ ἐπηρμένοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἷς ἦν ἐν ἐπιμελείᾳ ἡ στάσις, ἔτι
21 μᾶλλον ξυνίσταντο ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς. καὶ λόγοι τε πολλοὶ περὶ τούτου καὶ ὅρκοι ἤδη ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐγίνοντο. ἐπειδή τε τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγειν ἔμελλον, ἀχθόμενοι τῇ κωλύμῃ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ σφόδρα ἐνέκειντο.

22 Ἔδοξέ τε αὐτῶν τοῖς κορυφαίοις ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν μεγάλην καλοῦσι,
23 Σολόμωνα κτεῖναι. καὶ ἔλαθόν γε οὐδενὸς τοῦτο δὴ ἐξενεγκόντος τὸ βούλευμα. ἅτε γὰρ πολλῶν ὄντων τῶν τὰ δεινὰ βουλευομένων ὁ λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς δυσμενῆ οὐδένα ἐξέπιπτε, ταύτῃ τε λανθάνειν ἐξίσχυσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολόμωνος οἱ πολλοὶ δορυφόροι τε καὶ ὑπασπισταὶ καὶ τῶν

[1] συσκευασάμενοι P : ξυγκελευσάμενοι O.

placed by the emperor in five cavalry squadrons, in order that they might be settled permanently in the cities of the East; he also called them the "Vandals of Justinian," and ordered them to betake themselves in ships to the East. Now the majority of these Vandal soldiers reached the East, and, filling up the squadrons to which they had been assigned, they have been fighting against the Persians up to the present time; but the remainder, about four hundred in number, after reaching Lesbos, waiting until the sails were bellied with the wind, forced the sailors to submission and sailed on till they reached the Peloponnesus. And setting sail from there, they came to land in Libya at a desert place, where they abandoned the ships, and, after equipping themselves, went up to Mt. Aurasium and Mauretania. Elated by their accession, the soldiers who were planning the mutiny formed a still closer conspiracy among themselves. And there was much talk about this in the camp and oaths were already being taken. And when the rest were about to celebrate the Easter festival, the Arians, being vexed by their exclusion from the sacred rites, purposed to attack them vigorously.

And it seemed best to their leading men to kill Solomon in the sanctuary on the first day of the feast, which they call the great day. And they were March 23, 536 A.D.
fortunate enough not to be found out, since no one disclosed this plan. For though there were many who shared in the horrible plot, no word of it was divulged to any hostile person as the orders were passed around, and thus they succeeded completely in escaping detection, for even the spearmen and guards of Solomon for the most part and the

οἰκετῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐς ταύτην δὴ τὴν στάσιν
24 ξυνετετάχατο τῇ τῶν χωρίων ἐπιθυμίᾳ. ἡμέρας
δὲ ἤδη τῆς κυρίας παρούσης Σολόμων μὲν ἐν τῷ
ἱερῷ ἐκάθητο, μακρὰν τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπολελειμμένος[1]
25 κακῶν. ἐσελθόντες δὲ οἷς τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον
κτεῖναι ἐδέδοκτο, νεύμασί τε ἀλλήλοις ἐγκελευ-
σάμενοι, τῶν ξιφῶν ἥπτοντο, ἔδρασαν μέντοι
οὐδέν, ἢ τὰ τελούμενα τηνικαῦτα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ
αἰσχυνόμενοι, ἢ διὰ τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ δόξαν
ἐρυθριῶντες, ἢ καί τι θεῖον αὐτοὺς διεκώλυσεν.
26 Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τά τε ἱερὰ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἤσκητο
ἤδη καὶ οἴκαδε ἐκομίζοντο ἕκαστοι, ἀλλήλους
ᾐτιῶντο οἱ στασιῶται ἅτε μαλθακοὺς οὐκ ἐν δέοντι
γεγενημένους, καὶ αὖθις ἀπετίθεντο ἐς τὴν ἐπι-
27 οῦσαν τὸ βούλευμα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
διαγεγονότες ἄπρακτοι ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀνεχώρησαν,
ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐλθόντες ἀλλήλοις ἐκ τοῦ
ἐμφανοῦς ἐλοιδοροῦντο, αὐτός τε ἕκαστος μαλ-
θακόν τε τὸν πέλας καὶ τῆς ἑταιρίας διαλυτὴν
ἀποκαλῶν τὴν ἐς Σολόμωνα αἰδῶ ὀνειδίζειν οὐκ
28 ἀπηξίου. διὸ δὴ οὐκέτι ἀκίνδυνον σφίσιν ᾤοντο
ἔσεσθαι τὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι διατριβὴν ἅτε ἐς τὸ
29 πᾶν ἐξενεγκόντες τὸ βούλευμα. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ
τῆς πόλεως ἔξω κατὰ τάχος γενόμενοι τά τε
χωρία ἐληίζοντο καὶ Λίβυσιν οἷς ἂν ἐντύχοιεν
ὡς πολεμίοις ἐχρῶντο· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι ἐν τῇ πόλει
διαμείναντες οὐ παρεῖχον αἴσθησιν ἧς εἶχον
αὐτοὶ γνώμης, ἀλλ᾽ ἀγνοεῖν τὰ βεβουλευμένα
προσεποιοῦντο.

[1] τῶν αὐτοῦ ἀπολελειμμένος VP: ἀπολελειμμένος τῶν οἰκείων O.

majority of his domestics had become associated with this mutiny because of their desire for the lands. And when the appointed day had now come, Solomon was sitting in the sanctuary, utterly ignorant of his own misfortune. And those who had decided to kill the man went in, and, urging one another with nods, they put their hands to their swords, but they did nothing nevertheless, either because they were filled with awe of the rites then being performed in the sanctuary, or because the fame of the general caused them to be ashamed, or perhaps also some divine power prevented them.

And when the rites on that day had been completely performed and all were betaking themselves homeward, the conspirators began to blame one another with having turned soft-hearted at no fitting time, and they postponed the plot for a second attempt on the following day. And on the next day they acted in the same manner and departed from the sanctuary without doing anything, and entering the market place, they reviled each other openly, and every single man of them called the next one soft-hearted and a demoralizer of the band, not hesitating to censure strongly the respect felt for Solomon. For this reason, indeed, they thought that they could no longer without danger remain in Carthage, inasmuch as they had disclosed their plot to the whole city. The most of them, accordingly, went out of the city quickly and began to plunder the lands and to treat as enemies all the Libyans whom they met; but the rest remained in the city, giving no indication of what their own intentions were but pretending ignorance of the plot which had been formed.

30 Σολόμων δὲ ἀκούσας ὅσα πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπράσσετο, ἐς θόρυβόν τε πολὺν
ἐμπεσὼν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐγκελευόμενος οὐκ ἀνίει
31 ἐς εὔνοιαν τὴν βασιλέως παρακαλῶν. οἱ δὲ κατ'
ἀρχὰς μὲν ἐνδέχεσθαι τοὺς λόγους ἐδόκουν, ἡμέρᾳ
δὲ τῇ πέμπτῃ, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐξεληλυθότας ἐν βεβαίῳ
τυραννεῖν ἤκουσαν, ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον ξυλλε-
γέντες ἔς τε Σολόμωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἄρχοντας
32 ἀνέδην ὕβριζον. ἔνθα δὴ πρὸς Σολόμωνος σταλεὶς
Θεόδωρος ὁ Καππαδόκης παρηγορεῖν τε καὶ τι-
θασσεύειν αὐτοὺς ἐνεχείρει, οὐδέν τι ἐπαΐοντας
33 τῶν λεγομένων. ἦν δέ τις Θεοδώρῳ τούτῳ δυσ-
μένειά τε καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς ὑποψία ἐς Σολόμωνα.
34 διὸ δὴ οἱ στασιῶται στρατηγόν τε αὐτὸν σφίσιν
αὐτίκα τῇ βοῇ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ σιδηρο-
φοροῦντες[1] καὶ θορύβῳ πολλῷ χρώμενοι ἐς τὸ
35 Παλάτιον κατὰ τάχος ἧκον. ἔνθα δὴ Θεόδωρον
μὲν ἕτερον,[2] ὃς τῶν φυλάκων ἡγεῖτο, κτείνουσιν,
ἄνδρα τῆς τε ἄλλης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἥκοντα
36 καὶ διαφερόντως ἀγαθὸν τὰ πολέμια. ἐπεὶ δὲ
τοῦ φόνου τούτου ἐγεύσαντο, ἅπαντα ἤδη τὸν
ἐν ποσὶν ἔκτεινον, εἴτε Λίβυν εἴτε Ῥωμαῖον,
Σολόμωνι γνώριμον εἴτε χρήματα ἐν χερσὶν
ἔχοντα, ἐνθένδε τε ἐς τὸ ληΐζεσθαι ἀπεχώρησαν,
ἀναβαίνοντες δὲ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἔνθα δὴ μὴ στρα-
τιῶται ἠμύνοντο, ἅπαντα τὰ τιμιώτατα ἥρπαζον,
ἄχρι νύξ τε ἐπιγενομένη καὶ μέθη τὸν πόνον
διαδεξαμένη κατέπαυσε.
37 Σολόμων δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερόν, ὅ ἐστι μέγα ἐν Παλατίῳ,

[1] σιδηροφοροῦντες VO Theophanes : δορυφοροῦντες P.
[2] μὲν ἕτερον Maltretus in marg. : μὲν πρότερον VP, πρότερον μὲν O.

But Solomon, upon hearing what was being done by the soldiers in the country, became greatly disturbed, and ceased not exhorting those in the city and urging them to loyalty toward the emperor. And they at first seemed to receive his words with favour, but on the fifth day, when they heard that those who had gone out were secure in their power, they gathered in the hippodrome and insulted Solomon and the other commanders without restraint. And Theodorus, the Cappadocian, being sent there by Solomon, attempted to dissuade them and win them by kind words, but they listened to nothing of what was said. Now this Theodorus had a certain hostility against Solomon and was suspected of plotting against him. For this reason the mutineers straightway elected him general over them by acclamation, and with him they went with all speed to the palace carrying weapons and raising a great tumult. There they killed another Theodorus, who was commander of the guards, a man of the greatest excellence in every respect and an especially capable warrior. And when they had tasted this blood, they began immediately to kill everyone they met, whether Libyan or Roman, if he were known to Solomon or had money in his hands; and then they turned to plundering, going up into the houses which had no soldiers to defend them and seizing all the most valuable things, until the coming of night, and drunkenness following their toil, made them cease.

And Solomon succeeded in escaping unnoticed

καταφυγὼν ἔλαθεν, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Μαρτῖνος αὐτῷ
38 ἀμφὶ δείλην ὀψίαν ἦλθεν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ στασιῶται[1]
πάντες ἐκάθευδον, ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐς τὴν
Θεοδώρου τοῦ ἐκ Καππαδοκίας οἰκίαν ἦλθον, ὃς
αὐτοὺς δειπνῆσαί τε οὔ τι προθυμουμένους ἠνάγ-
κασε, καὶ ἐς τὸν λιμένα διακομίσας ἐς λέμβον
νεὼς δή τινος ἐσεκόμισεν, ὃς δὴ ἐνταῦθα Μαρτίνῳ
39 παρεσκευασμένος ἐτύγχανεν. εἵποντο δὲ Προκό-
πιός τε, ὃς τάδε ξυνέγραψε, καὶ τῆς Σολόμωνος
40 οἰκίας ἄνδρες πέντε μάλιστα. σταδίους τε τριακο-
σίους ἀνύσαντες ἀφίκοντο ἐς Μισούαν τὸ Καρχη-
δονίων ἐπίνειον, καὶ ἐπεὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ,
αὐτίκα Σολόμων ἐκέλευε Μαρτῖνον ἐς Νουμιδίαν
παρὰ Βαλεριανόν τε καὶ τῶν ξυναρχόντων τοὺς
ἄλλους ἰέναι, πειρᾶσθαί τε, εἴ πως δύναιτο αὐτῶν
ἕκαστος τῶν τινας γνωρίμων στρατιωτῶν ἢ χρή-
μασιν ἢ τρόπῳ ἑτέρῳ τῳ ὑπελθὼν ἐς εὔνοιαν τὴν
41 βασιλέως μεταγαγεῖν. καὶ πρὸς Θεόδωρον γράμ-
ματα ἔπεμπε, Καρχηδόνος τε ἐπιστέλλων ἐπι-
μελεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα διέπειν ὅπη ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ
δυνατὰ εἶναι, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν Προκοπίῳ παρὰ Βελι-
42 σάριον ἐς Συρακούσας ἀφίκετο. ἅπαντά τε αὐτῷ
ἀγγείλας ὅσα ἐν Λιβύῃ γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν, ἐδεῖτο
κατὰ τάχος ἰέναι τε ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ βασιλεῖ
ἀμῦναι πάσχοντι πρὸς στρατιωτῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ τὰ
ἀνόσια. καὶ Σολόμων μὲν ταῦτα ἐποίει.

XV

Οἱ δὲ στασιῶται τὰ ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἅπαντα
ληισάμενοι ἔς τε τὸ Βούλλης ξυλλεγέντες πεδίον

[1] στασιῶται PO : στρατιῶται V.

into the great sanctuary which is in the palace, and Martinus joined him there in the late afternoon. And when all the mutineers were sleeping, they went out from the sanctuary and entered the house of Theodorus, the Cappadocian, who compelled them to dine although they had no desire to do so, and conveyed them to the harbour and put them on the skiff of a certain ship, which happened to have been made ready there by Martinus. And Procopius also, who wrote this history, was with them, and about five men of the house of Solomon. And after accomplishing three hundred stades they reached Misuas, the ship-yard of Carthage, and, since they had reached safety, Solomon straightway commanded Martinus to go into Numidia to Valerian and the others who shared his command, and endeavour to bring it about that each one of them, if it were in any way possible, should appeal to some of the soldiers known to him, either with money or by other means, and bring them back to loyalty toward the emperor. And he sent a letter to Theodorus, charging him to take care of Carthage and to handle the other matters as should seem possible to him, and he himself with Procopius went to Belisarius at Syracuse. And after reporting everything to him which had taken place in Libya, he begged him to come with all speed to Carthage and defend the emperor, who was suffering unholy treatment at the hands of his own soldiers Solomon, then, was thus engaged.

XV

But the mutineers, after plundering everything in Carthage, gathered in the plain of Boulla, and

Στότζαν, τῶν Μαρτίνου δορυφόρων ἕνα, τύραννον σφίσιν εἵλοντο, ἄνδρα θυμοειδῆ καὶ δραστήριον, ἐφ' ᾧ τοὺς βασιλέως ἄρχοντας ἐξελάσαντες
2 Λιβύης πάσης[1] κρατήσουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα, ἐς ὀκτακισχιλίους μάλιστα ξυνιόν, ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα ἐπῆγεν, ὡς τὴν πόλιν αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα παραστησόμενος οὐδενὶ πόνῳ.
3 ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ ἐς Βανδίλους τούς τε ἐκ Βυζαντίου σὺν ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀποδράντας καὶ ὅσοι οὐχ εἵποντο Βελισαρίῳ τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἢ διαλαθόντες, ἢ ὅτι οἱ Βανδίλους τηνικαῦτα παραπέμποντες ἐν λόγῳ
4 αὐτοὺς οὐδενὶ ἐποιήσαντο. ἦσαν δὲ οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ χίλιοι, οἳ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν τῷ Στότζᾳ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ξὺν προθυμίᾳ ἦλθον. ἀφίκετο δέ
5 οἱ καὶ δούλων πολύς τις ὅμιλος. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐγένοντο Καρχηδόνος ἐγγύς, ἔπεμψεν ὁ Στότζας, κελεύων οἱ ὡς τάχιστα παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν,
6 ἐφ' ᾧ κακῶν ἀπαθεῖς μείνωσιν. οἱ δὲ ἐν Καρχηδόνι καὶ Θεόδωρος, πρὸς ταῦτα ἄντικρυς ἀπειπόντες, βασιλεῖ ὡμολόγουν Καρχηδόνα φυλάσ-
7 σειν. πέμψαντές τε παρ' αὐτὸν Ἰωσήφιον, τῶν τε βασιλέως φυλάκων γραμματέα οὐκ ἀφανῆ γεγονότα καὶ τῆς Βελισαρίου οἰκίας ὄντα, κατὰ χρείαν δέ τινα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔναγχος ἐσταλμένον, ἠξίουν μὴ σφᾶς περαιτέρω βιάζεσθαι.
8 Στότζας δέ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσεν, Ἰωσήφιόν τε αὐτίκα ἔκτεινε καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν καθίστατο. κατορρωδήσαντές τε οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τὸν κίνδυνον, σφᾶς τε αὐτοὺς καὶ Καρχηδόνα Στότζᾳ ἐγχειρίσαι ὁμολογίᾳ διενοοῦντο. τὸ μὲν οὖν Λιβύης στρατόπεδον ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

[1] πάσης V: ὅλης PO.

chose Stotzas,[1] one of the guards of Martinus, and a passionate and energetic man, as tyrant over them, with the purpose of driving the emperor's commanders out of all Libya and thus gaining control over it. And he armed the whole force, amounting to about eight thousand men, and led them on to Carthage, thinking to win over the city instantly with no trouble. He sent also to the Vandals who had run away from Byzantium with the ships and those who had not gone there with Belisarius in the beginning, either because they had escaped notice, or because those who were taking off the Vandals at that time took no account of them. Now they were not fewer than a thousand, and after no great time they joined Stotzas and the army with enthusiasm. And a great throng of slaves also came to him. And when they drew near Carthage, Stotzas sent orders that the people should surrender the city to him as quickly as possible, on condition of their remaining free from harm. But those in Carthage and Theodorus, in reply to this, refused flatly to obey, and announced that they were guarding Carthage for the emperor. And they sent to Stotzas Joseph, the secretary of the emperor's guards, a man of no humble birth and one of the household of Belisarius, who had recently been sent to Carthage on some mission to them, and they demanded that Stotzas should go no further in his violence. But Stotzas, upon hearing this, straightway killed Joseph and commenced a siege. And those in the city, becoming terrified at the danger, were purposing to surrender themselves and Carthage to Stotzas under an agreement. Such was the course of events in the army in Libya.

[1] Cf. III. xi. 30.

9 Βελισάριος δέ, ἄνδρας ἀπολέξας τῶν αὑτοῦ
δορυφόρων τε καὶ ὑπασπιστῶν ἑκατὸν καὶ Σολό-
μωνα ἐπαγόμενος, μιᾷ νηὶ ἐς Καρχηδόνα κατέ-
πλευσε περὶ λύχνων ἁφάς, ἡνίκα τὴν πόλιν οἱ
πολιορκοῦντες σφίσιν ἐγχειριεῖσθαι τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ
ἐκαραδόκουν. ἐν ἐλπίδι τε ταῦτα ἔχοντες τὴν
10 νύκτα ἐκείνην ηὐλίσαντο. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡμέρα τε
ἐγεγόνει καὶ Βελισάριον παρεῖναι ἔμαθον,[1] λύσαν-
τες ὡς τάχιστα τὸ στρατόπεδον αἰσχρῶς τε καὶ
11 κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. Βελισάριος δὲ
τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀμφὶ δισχιλίους ἀγείρας καὶ αὐτοὺς
ἐς εὔνοιαν τὴν βασιλέως λόγοις τε ὁρμήσας καὶ
χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἐπιρρώσας τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς
12 φεύγοντας ἐποιήσατο. καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐς Μέμβρησαν
πόλιν καταλαμβάνει, πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίοις
13 σταδίοις Καρχηδόνος διέχουσαν. ἔνθα δὴ ἑκά-
τεροι στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἐς μάχην παρεσκευά-
ζοντο, οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Βελισάριον ἐς ποταμὸν
Βαγράδαν, οἱ δὲ ἕτεροι ἐν χωρίῳ ὑψηλῷ τε καὶ
14 δυσκόλῳ τὸ χαράκωμα ποιησάμενοι. ἐς γὰρ τὴν
πόλιν οὐδέτεροι εἰσελθεῖν ἔγνωσαν, ἐπεὶ ἀτεί-
15 χιστος οὖσα ἐτύγχανε. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ καθί-
σταντο ἐς τὴν ξυμβολήν, οἱ μὲν στασιῶται[2]
πλήθει τῷ σφετέρῳ πιστεύοντες, οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ
Βελισάριον ἅτε ἀφρόνων τε καὶ ἀστρατηγήτων
16 ὑπερφρονοῦντες τῶν πολεμίων. ἃ δὴ Βελισάριος
ταῖς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διανοίαις ἐναποθέσθαι
βουλόμενος βεβαίως ἅπαντας ξυγκαλέσας ἔλεξε
τάδε·

"Ἐλπίδος μὲν καὶ εὐχῆς ἧσσον, ἄνδρες

[1] ἔμαθον PO: ἔλεγον V.
[2] στασιῶται VO: στρατιῶται P.

But Belisarius selected one hundred men from his own spearmen and guards, and taking Solomon with him, sailed into Carthage with one ship at about dusk, at the time when the besiegers were expecting that the city would be surrendered to them on the following day. And since they were expecting this, they bivouacked that night. But when day had come and they learned that Belisarius was present, they broke up camp as quickly as possible and disgracefully and in complete disorder beat a hasty retreat. And Belisarius gathered about two thousand of the army and, after urging them with words to be loyal to the emperor and encouraging them with large gifts of money, he began the pursuit of the fugitives. And he overtook them at the city of Membresa, three hundred and fifty stades distant from Carthage. There both armies made camp and prepared themselves for battle, the forces of Belisarius making their entrenchment at the River Bagradas, and the others in a high and difficult position. For neither of them saw fit to enter the city, since it was without walls. And on the day following they joined battle, the mutineers trusting in their numbers, and the troops of Belisarius despising their enemy as both without sense and without generals. And Belisarius, wishing that these thoughts should be firmly lodged in the minds of his soldiers, called them all together and spoke as follows:—

"The situation, fellow-soldiers, both for the

συστρατιῶται, βασιλεῖ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις τὰ
17 πράγματα ἔχει. ἐς ξυμβολὴν γὰρ τανῦν ἥκομεν
ἐξ ἧς οὐδὲ τὸ νικᾶν ἄκλαυστον ἕξομεν, ἐπὶ
18 ξυγγενεῖς τε καὶ ξυντρόφους στρατεύοντες. ἔχο-
μεν δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ παραψυχὴν τήνδε, οἷς[1] γε οὐ
τῆς μάχης ἄρχοντες αὐτοί, ἀλλ' ἀμυνόμενοι ἐς
19 τὸν κίνδυνον καθιστάμεθα. ὁ γὰρ ἐς τοὺς φιλτά-
τους τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ποιησάμενος καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς
διαλύσας οἷς ἔδρασεν, οὐ πρὸς τῶν φίλων, ἢν
ἀπόληται, θνήσκει, ἀλλ' ἐν πολεμίου γεγονὼς
20 μοίρᾳ τοῖς ἠδικημένοις ἐκτίνει τὴν δίκην. πολε-
μίους δὲ καὶ βαρβάρους καὶ ὅ τι ἂν τις εἴποι
δεινότερον εἶναι δείκνυσι τοὺς ἐναντίους οὐ Λιβύη
μόνον ὑπὸ ταῖς τούτων χερσὶν ἐς λείαν ἐλθοῦσα,
οὐδὲ οἱ ταύτην οἰκοῦντες οὐ δέον[2] παρ' ἐκείνων
ἀνῃρημένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίων στρατιωτῶν
πλῆθος οὓς οἱ δυσμενεῖς οὗτοι κτείνειν ἐτόλμη-
σαν, μίαν αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν τὴν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν
21 ἐπικαλέσαντες εὔνοιαν. οἷς νῦν τιμωροῦντες
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥκομεν, δυσμενεῖς εἰκότως τοῖς πάλαι
22 φιλτάτοις γενόμενοι. φύσει μὲν γὰρ οὐδένες τῶν
πάντων ἀνθρώπων οἰκείως ἂν ἢ ἐναντίως ἀλλή-
λοις ἔχοιεν, αἱ δὲ πράξεις ἑκάστων ἢ τῷ ὁμοτρόπῳ
ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ξυνάπτουσαι ἢ τῷ διαλλάσσοντι
τῆς γνώμης ἐς τὸ δυσμενὲς διακρίνουσαι φίλους,
ἂν οὕτω τύχοι, ἢ πολεμίους ἀλλήλοις[3] ποιοῦσιν.
23 ὡς μὲν οὖν ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἀνοσίους τε καὶ
πολεμίους στρατεύομεν, ἱκανῶς ἔχετε· ὡς δὲ

[1] οἷς VO : ἧς P, ὧς conjectured by Classen.
[2] οὐ δέον PO : οὐδὲ οἱ V.
[3] ἀλλήλοις V : ἐς ἀλλήλους V_1, ἀλλήλους PO.

emperor and for the Romans, falls far short of our hopes and of our prayers. For we have now come to a combat in which even the winning of the victory will not be without tears for us, since we are fighting against kinsmen and men who have been reared with us. But we have this comfort in our misfortune, that we are not ourselves beginning the battle, but have been brought into the conflict in our own defence. For he who has framed the plot against his dearest friends and by his own act has dissolved the ties of kinship, dies not, if he perishes, by the hands of his friends, but having become an enemy is but making atonement to those who have suffered wrong. And that our opponents are public enemies and barbarians and whatever worse name one might call them, is shewn not alone by Libya, which has become plunder under their hands, nor by the inhabitants of this land, who have been wrongfully slain, but also by the multitude of Roman soldiers whom these enemies have dared to kill, though they have had but one fault to charge them with—loyalty to their government. And it is to avenge these their victims that we have now come against them, having with good reason become enemies to those who were once most dear. For nature has made no men in the world either friends or opponents to one another, but it is the actions of men in every case which, either by the similarity of the motives which actuate them unite them in alliance, or by the difference set them in hostility to each other, making them friends or enemies as the case may be. That, therefore, we are fighting against men who are outlaws and enemies of the state, you must now be convinced; and now I shall

καταφρονεῖσθαί εἰσι παρ' ἡμῶν ἄξιοι, ἐγὼ δηλώ-
24 σω. ὅμιλος γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οὐ νόμῳ συνιόντων,
ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ ἀδίκου ξυνειλεγμένων ἀνδραγαθί-
ζεσθαι ἥκιστα πέφυκεν, οὐδαμῶς τῆς ἀρετῆς τῷ
παρανόμῳ ξυνοικίζεσθαι δυναμένης, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ[1]
25 τῶν οὐχ ὁσίων ἀφισταμένης. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν
εὐκοσμίαν φυλάξουσιν οὐδὲ τῶν ὑπὸ Στότζα
26 παραγγελλομένων ἀκούσουσι. τυραννίδα γὰρ
ἄρτι καθισταμένην καὶ οὔπω τὴν τοῦ θαρσεῖν
ἐξουσίαν λαβοῦσαν ὑπερορᾶσθαι πρὸς τῶν ἀρχο-
27 μένων ἀνάγκη. οὔτε γὰρ εὐνοίᾳ τετίμηται, ἐπεὶ
μισεῖσθαι ἡ τυραννὶς πέφυκεν, οὔτε φόβῳ ἄγει
τοὺς ὑπηκόους· ἀφείλετο γὰρ αὐτῆς τὴν παρρη-
28 σίαν τὸ δεδιέναι. ἀρετῆς δὲ καὶ εὐκοσμίας
ἀπολελειμμένων τῶν πολεμίων ἡσσᾶσθαι πρό-
χειρον. πολλῷ τοίνυν, ὅπερ εἶπον, τῷ κατα-
φρονήματι ἐπὶ τούσδε ἡμᾶς τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι
29 προσήκει. οὐ γὰρ τῷ πλήθει τῶν μαχομένων,
ἀλλὰ τάξει τε καὶ ἀνδρίᾳ φιλεῖ διαμετρεῖσθαι τὸ
τοῦ πολέμου κράτος."

30 Βελισάριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε.[2] Στότζας δὲ
παρεκελεύσατο ὧδε· "Ἄνδρες οἳ ξὺν ἐμοὶ τῆς ἐς
Ῥωμαίους δουλείας ἔξω γεγένησθε, μηδεὶς ὑμῶν
ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπαξιούτω θνήσκειν, ἧς ἀν-
31 δρίᾳ τε καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ τετυχήκατε. οὐ γὰρ
οὕτω δεινὸν τὸ τοῖς κακοῖς ξυγγηράσκοντα τελευ-
τῆσαι τὸν βίον ὡς μετὰ τὴν τῶν δυσκόλων ἐλευ-
32 θερίαν αὖθις ἐς αὐτὰ ἐπανήκειν. ὁ γὰρ ἐν μέσῳ
χρόνος τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς γεύσας χαλεπωτέραν, ὥς
33 γε τὸ εἰκός, τὴν συμφορὰν ἀπεργάζεται. τούτων

[1] ἀλλ' ἀεὶ VPO : ἀλλὰ καὶ V_1.
[2] εἶπεν V : παρῄνεσε καὶ PO.

make it plain that they deserve to be despised by us. For a throng of men united by no law, but brought together by motives of injustice, is utterly unable by nature to play the part of brave men, since valour is unable to dwell with lawlessness, but always shuns those who are unholy. Nor, indeed, will they preserve discipline or give heed to the commands given by Stotzas. For when a tyranny is newly organized and has not yet won that authority which self-confidence gives, it is, of necessity, looked upon by its subjects with contempt. Nor is it honoured through any sentiment of loyalty, for a tyranny is, in the nature of the case, hated; nor does it lead its subjects by fear, for timidity deprives it of the power to speak out openly. And when the enemy is handicapped in point of valour and of discipline, their defeat is ready at hand. With great contempt, therefore, as I said, we should go against this enemy of ours. For it is not by the numbers of the combatants, but by their orderly array and their bravery, that prowess in war is wont to be measured."

So spoke Belisarius. And Stotzas exhorted his troops as follows: "Men who with me have escaped our servitude to the Romans, let no one of you count it unworthy to die on behalf of the freedom which you have won by your courage and your other qualities. For it is not so terrible a thing to grow old and die in the midst of ills, as to return again to it after having gained freedom from oppressive conditions. For the interval which has given one a taste of deliverance makes the misfortune, naturally enough, harder to bear. And this being so, it is

δὲ τοιούτων ὄντων ἐπάναγκες ὑμᾶς ἀναμνησθῆναι
μὲν ὡς Βανδίλους τε καὶ Μαυρουσίους νενικηκότες
αὐτοὶ μὲν τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἀπώνασθε πόνων,
κύριοι δὲ ἄλλοι τῶν λαφύρων γεγένηνται πάντων.
34 ἐκλογίζεσθε δὲ ὡς στρατιώταις οὖσιν ὑμῖν τὸν
πάντα αἰῶνα ὁμιλεῖν τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις
ἀνάγκη, ἢ ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων, ἤν γε
αὖθις ἐκείνῳ δουλεύητε, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, ἢν
35 τὴν ἐλευθερίαν διασώζητε ταύτην. ὁπότερον δὲ
ἀμφοῖν αἱρετώτερον, τοῦτο ἑλέσθαι ὑμῖν πάρ-
εστιν, ἢ μαλθακιζομένοις ἐν τῷ παρόντι, ἢ ἀν-
36 δραγαθίζεσθαι βουλομένοις. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀκεῖνο
εἰσιέναι ὑμᾶς προσήκει, ὡς ὅπλα κατὰ Ῥωμαίων
ἀράμενοι, ἢν ὑπ' αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε, οὐ μετρίων οὐδὲ
συγγνωμόνων δεσποτῶν πειραθήσεσθε, ἀλλὰ
πείσεσθε μὲν τὰ ἀνήκεστα, προσέσται δὲ ὑμῖν τὸ
μὴ ἀδίκως ἀπολωλέναι. ὁ μὲν οὖν θάνατος ὅτῳ
ἂν ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ ἀφίξηται ταύτῃ, δηλονότι
37 εὐκλεὴς ἔσται· βίος δὲ κρατήσασι μὲν τῶν πολε-
μίων αὐτόνομός τε καὶ τἄλλα εὐδαίμων, ἡσσημέ-
νοις δὲ πικρὸν μὲν ἄλλο οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμι, τὴν
ἐλπίδα δὲ ξύμπασαν εἰς τὸν ἐκείνων ἔλεον ἔχων.[1]
38 ἡ δὲ ξυμβολὴ οὐκ ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως
39 ἔσται. τῷ τε γὰρ πλήθει παρὰ πολὺ ἡσσῶνται
ἡμῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ ὡς ἥκιστα προθυμούμενοι
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἴασιν, οὓς οἶμαι καὶ τῆσδε ἡμῖν εὔχεσθαι
τῆς ἐλευθερίας μεταλαχεῖν." τοσαῦτα μὲν καὶ ὁ
Στότζας εἶπεν.
40 Ἰόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν τῶν στρατοπέδων
πνεῦμα σκληρόν τε καὶ δεινῶς λυπηρὸν κατ' ὄψιν
41 ἐς τοὺς Στότζα στασιώτας ἐνέπεσε. διὸ δὴ ἀξύμ-

[1] ἔχων PO : ἔχειν V.

necessary for you to call to mind that after conquering the Vandals and the Moors you yourselves have enjoyed the labours of war, while others have become masters of all the spoils. And consider that, as soldiers, you will be compelled all your lives to be acquainted with the dangers of war, either in behalf of the emperor's cause, if, indeed, you are again his slaves, or in behalf of your own selves, if you preserve this present liberty. And whichever of the two is preferable, this it is in your power to choose, either by becoming faint-hearted at this time, or by preferring to play the part of brave men. Furthermore, this thought also should come to your minds,—that if, having taken up arms against the Romans, you come under their power, you will have experience of no moderate or indulgent masters, but you will suffer the extreme of punishment, and, what is more, your death will not have been unmerited. To whomsoever of you, therefore, death comes in this battle, it is plain that it will be a glorious death; and life, if you conquer the enemy, will be independent and in all other respects happy; but if you are defeated,—I need mention no other bitterness than this, that all your hope will depend upon the mercy of those men yonder. And the conflict will not be evenly matched in regard to strength. For not only are the enemy greatly surpassed by us in numbers, but they will come against us without the least enthusiasm, for I think that they are praying for a share of this our freedom." Such was the speech of Stotzas.

As the armies entered the combat, a wind both violent and exceedingly troublesome began to blow in the faces of the mutineers of Stotzas. For this

φορον σφίσιν ᾤοντο εἶναι τὴν μάχην αὐτόθι ποιήσασθαι, δεδιότες μὴ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑπερβιαζόμενον τὰ μὲν τῶν πολεμίων βέλη ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰθύνοι, βελῶν δὲ τῶν σφετέρων ἡ ῥύμη ὡς μάλιστα
42 ἀναστέλλοιτο. ἄραντες οὖν ἐγκάρσιοι ᾔεσαν, λογιζόμενοι ὡς ἢν καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, μεταβάλλοιντο, ὅπως δὴ μὴ ὄπισθεν ὑπὸ σφῶν ἐνοχλοῖντο, κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς τὸ πνεῦμα
43 ἔσται. Βελισάριος δέ, ἐπεὶ αὐτοὺς εἶδε τὴν τάξιν λιπόντας καὶ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ περιιόντας, αὐτίκα δὴ
44 ἐκέλευε τῶν χειρῶν ἄρχειν. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Στότζαν ἐς ταραχὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου καταστάντες ξὺν ἀταξίᾳ πολλῇ, ὡς ἕκαστός πη ἐδύνατο, ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, ἐς Νουμιδίαν τε ἀφικόμενοι συνελέγοντο
45 αὖθις. ὀλίγοι μέντοι αὐτῶν ἐν τῷ πόνῳ τούτῳ ἀπέθανον, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι Βανδίλοι ἦσαν.
46 δίωξιν γὰρ Βελισάριος ἥκιστα ἐς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο, ἐπεί οἱ, λίαν τοῦ στρατεύματος βραχέος ὄντος, ἱκανὸν κατεφαίνετο, εἰ σφίσιν οἱ πολέμιοι ἐν τῷ παρόντι νενικημένοι ἐκποδὼν στήσονται.
47 τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις ἐδίδου τὸ χαράκωμα τῶν ἐναντίων διαρπάσασθαι, αἱροῦσί τε αὐτὸ ἔρημον ἀνδρῶν. ἐνταῦθα εὕρηνται πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα, πολλαὶ δὲ γυναῖκες, ὧν δὴ ἕνεκα ὁ πόλεμος κατέστη ὅδε. ταῦτα Βελισάριος διαπεπραγμένος ἐς
48 Καρχηδόνα ἀπήλαυνε. καί οἵ τις ἐκ Σικελίας ἥκων ἀπήγγελλεν ὡς στάσις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπιπεσοῦσα τὰ πράγματα ἀνασοβεῖν μέλλοι, ἢν μὴ αὐτὸς κατὰ τάχος σφίσιν ἐπανήκων τὴν κωλύ-
49 μην ποιήσηται. καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν τὰ ἐν Λιβύῃ ὅπη

reason they thought it disadvantageous for them to fight the battle where they were, fearing lest the wind by its overpowering force should carry the missiles of the enemy against them, while the impetus of their own missiles would be very seriously checked. They therefore left their position and moved toward the flank, reasoning that if the enemy also should change front, as they probably would, in order that they might not be assailed from the rear, the wind would then be in their faces. But Belisarius, upon seeing that they had left their position and in complete disorder were moving to his flank, gave orders immediately to open the attack. And the troops of Stotzas were thrown into confusion by the unexpected move, and in great disorder, as each one could, they fled precipitately, and only when they reached Numidia did they collect themselves again. Few of them, however, perished in this action, and most of them were Vandals. For Belisarius did not pursue them at all, for the reason that it seemed to him sufficient, since his army was very small, if the enemy, having been defeated for the present, should get out of his way. And he gave the soldiers the enemy's stockade to plunder, and they took it with not a man inside. But much money was found there and many women, the very women because of whom this war took place.[1] After accomplishing this, Belisarius marched back to Carthage. And someone coming from Sicily reported to him that a mutiny had broken out in the army and was about to throw everything into confusion, unless he himself should return to them with all speed and take measures to prevent it. He there-

[1] Cf. chap. xiv. 8.

ἐδύνατο διαθέμενος καὶ Καρχηδόνα Ἰλδίγερί τε
καὶ Θεοδώρῳ παραδοὺς ἐς Σικελίαν ᾔει.
50 Οἱ δὲ ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντες, ἐπεὶ
τοὺς ἀμφὶ Στότζαν ἥκειν τε καὶ ξυλλέγεσθαι ἐν-
ταῦθα ἤκουσαν, παρεσκευάζοντο ἐς παράταξιν,
ἦσαν δὲ ἡγεμόνες φοιδεράτων μὲν Μάρκελλός τε
καὶ Κύριλλος, καταλόγου δὲ ἱππικοῦ μὲν Βαρ-
51 βᾶτος, πεζῶν δὲ Τερέντιός τε καὶ Σάραπις. Μαρ-
κέλλῳ μέντοι ἐπήκουον ἅπαντες ἅτε Νουμιδίας
52 τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντι. ὃς ἐπεὶ ἐν χωρίῳ Γαζοφύλοις,
δυοῖν μάλιστα ἡμέραιν ὁδῷ Κωνσταντίνης ἀπέχ-
οντι, Στότζαν ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἤκουσεν εἶναι,
προτερῆσαι πρὶν τοὺς στασιώτας ἅπαντας ξυλλεγ-
ῆναι βουλόμενος, κατὰ τάχος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπῆγε
53 τὸ στράτευμα. ὡς δὲ τά τε στρατόπεδα ἐγγὺς ἐγε-
γόνει καὶ ἡ μάχη ἔμελλεν ἐν χερσὶν ἔσεσθαι, μόνος
ὁ Στότζας ἐς μέσους τοὺς ἐναντίους ἥκων ἔλεξε
τοιάδε·
54 "Ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται, οὐ δίκαια ποιεῖτε
ἐπὶ ξυγγενεῖς τε καὶ συντρόφους στρατεύοντες,
ἐπ' ἄνδρας τε ὅπλα αἰρόμενοι οἳ τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς
ὑμετέροις καὶ τοῖς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἀδικήμασιν ἀχθόμενοι
55 βασιλεῖ τε καὶ Ῥωμαίοις πολεμεῖν ἔγνωσαν. ἢ
οὐ μέμνησθε ὡς ἐστέρησθε μὲν τῶν ἄνωθεν ὑμῖν
ὀφειλομένων συντάξεων, ἀφῄρησθε δὲ τῶν πολε-
μίων τὰ λάφυρα, ἃ τῶν ἐν μάχαις κινδύνων ἆθλα
56 ὁ τοῦ πολέμου τέθεικε νόμος; καὶ τοῖς μὲν τῆς
νίκης ἀγαθοῖς ἕτεροι τρυφᾶν ἐς τὸν ἅπαντα χρό-

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[1] "Auxiliaries"; see Book III. xi. 3.
[2] More correctly Gadiaufala, now Ksar-Sbehi.

fore arranged matters in Libya as well as he could and, entrusting Carthage to Ildiger and Theodorus, went to Sicily.

And the Roman commanders in Numidia, hearing that the troops of Stotzas had come and were gathering there, prepared for battle. Now the commanders were as follows: of foederati,[1] Marcellus and Cyril, of the cavalry forces, Barbatus, and of infantry Terentius and Sarapis. All, however, took their commands from Marcellus, as holding the authority in Numidia. He, therefore, upon hearing that Stotzas with some few men was in a place called Gazophyla,[2] about two days' journey distant from Constantina,[3] wished to anticipate the gathering of all the mutineers, and led his army swiftly against them. And when the two armies were near together and the battle was about to commence, Stotzas came alone into the midst of his opponents and spoke as follows:

"Fellow-soldiers, you are not acting justly in taking the field against kinsmen and those who have been reared with you, and in raising arms against men who in vexation at your misfortunes and the wrongs you have suffered have decided to make war upon the emperor and the Romans. Or do you not remember that you have been deprived of the pay which has been owing you for a long time back, and that you have been robbed of the enemy's spoil, which the law of war has set as prizes for the dangers of battle? And that the others have claimed the right to live sumptuously all their lives upon the good things of victory, while you have

[3] Cirta, later named Constantina, now Constantine (Ksantina).

57 νον ἠξίουν, ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐν οἰκετῶν ἔπεσθε μοίρᾳ; εἰ
μὲν οὖν ἐμοὶ χαλεπαίνετε, πάρεστιν ὑμῖν ἐς τόδε
μὲν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θυμῷ χρῆσθαι, τὸ δὲ ἐς τοὺς
ἄλλους διαφυγεῖν μίασμα· εἰ δέ μοι αἰτίαν οὐδε-
μίαν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἔχετε, ὥρα ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
58 ἀνελέσθαι τὰ ὅπλα." ὁ μὲν οὖν Στότζας τοσαῦτα
εἶπεν· οἱ δὲ στρατιῶται τούς τε λόγους ἐνεδέ-
59 χοντο καὶ αὐτὸν πολλῇ εὐνοίᾳ ἠσπάζοντο. κατ-
ιδόντες δὲ οἱ ἄρχοντες τὰ γινόμενα σιγῇ τε
ὑπεχώρουν καὶ ἐς ἱερὸν ὃ ἐν Γαζοφύλοις ἦν κατα-
φεύγουσι. Στότζας δὲ ἀμφότερα τὰ στρατόπεδα[1]
ἐς ἓν ξυλλαβὼν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ᾔει. καταλαβών τε
ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοὺς ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε.

XVI

Ταῦτα ἐπεὶ βασιλεὺς ἔμαθε,[2] Γερμανὸν τὸν
ἀνεψιὸν τὸν αὑτοῦ, ἄνδρα πατρίκιον, ἐς Λιβύην
2 ξὺν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔπεμψε. καὶ Σύμμαχος δὲ
αὐτῷ καὶ Δόμνικος, ἄνδρες ἐκ βουλῆς, εἵποντο,
ἅτερος μὲν ἔπαρχός[3] τε καὶ χορηγὸς τῆς δαπάνης
ἐσόμενος, Δόμνικος δὲ τῷ πεζῷ στρατῷ ἐπιστα-
τήσων. Ἰωάννης γὰρ ἐτελεύτα ἤδη νοσήσας, ᾧ
3 δὴ ἐπέκειτο ἡ τιμὴ αὕτη. ἐπειδή τε ἐς Καρ-
χηδόνα κατέπλευσαν, τούς τε παρόντας σφίσι
στρατιώτας ὁ Γερμανὸς ἠρίθμει καὶ τῶν γραμμα-
τέων ἀναλεγόμενος τὰ βιβλία οὗ πάντα ἀνα-
γέγραπται τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα, εὕρισκε
τὸ μὲν τριτημόριον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔν τε Καρχηδόνι
καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ὄν, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους

[1] στρατόπεδα VO : στρατεύματα P.
[2] ἔμαθε VO : ἤκουσε P. [3] ἔπαρχός V : ὕπαρχός PO.

followed as if their servants? If, now, you are angry with me, it is within your power to vent your wrath upon this body, and to escape the pollution of killing the others; but if you have no charge to bring against me, it is time for you to take up your weapons in your own behalf." So spoke Stotzas; and the soldiers listened to his words and greeted him with great favour. And when the commanders saw what was happening, they withdrew in silence and took refuge in a sanctuary which was in Gazophyla. And Stotzas combined both armies into one and then went to the commanders. And finding them in the sanctuary, he gave pledges and then killed them all.

XVI

When the emperor learned this, he sent his nephew Germanus, a man of patrician rank, with some few men to Libya. And Symmachus also and Domnicus, men of the senate, followed him, the former to be prefect and charged with the maintenance of the army, while Domnicus was to command the infantry forces. For John,[1] who had held the office of prefect, had already died of disease. And when they had sailed into Carthage, Germanus counted the soldiers whom they had, and upon looking over the books of the scribes where the names of all the soldiers were registered, he found that the third part of the army was in Carthage and the other

[1] John the Cappadocian, cf. I. xxiv. 11 ff.

ἅπαντας τῷ τυράννῳ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ξυντεταγμένους.
4 μάχης μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἦρχε, τοῦ δὲ στρατοπέδου ἐπεμελεῖτο ὡς μάλιστα. λογισάμενός τε ὡς τῶν πολεμίων ξυγγενεῖς ἢ ὁμοσκήνους τοὺς ἐν Καρχηδόνι ἀπολελειμμένους ξυμβαίνει εἶναι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπαγωγὰ πᾶσιν ἐφθέγγετο καὶ σταλῆναι πρὸς βασιλέως ἐς Λιβύην αὐτὸς ἔφασκεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἠδικημένοις μὲν στρατιώταις ἀμυνεῖ,[1] κολάσει δὲ τοὺς ἀδικίας τινὸς ἐς αὐτοὺς
5 ἄρξαντας. ἅπερ οἱ στασιῶται πυνθανόμενοι κατ' ὀλίγους αὐτῷ προσχωρεῖν ἤρχοντο. καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Γερμανὸς τῇ τε πόλει ξὺν φιλοφροσύνῃ ἐδέχετο καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δοὺς ἐν τιμῇ εἶχε, τάς τε συντάξεις αὐτοῖς τοῦ χρόνου ἐδίδου καθ' ὃν ἐπὶ
6 Ῥωμαίους ἐν ὅπλοις ἦσαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος περιφερόμενος ἐς ἅπαντας ἦλθε, κατὰ πολλοὺς ἤδη τοῦ τυράννου ἀποτασσόμενοι
7 ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐσήλαυνον. καὶ τότε δὴ Γερμανὸς ἐξ ἀντιπάλου τῆς δυνάμεως ἔσεσθαί οἱ πρὸς τοὺς ἐναντίους τὴν μάχην ἐλπίσας τὰ ἐς τὴν παράταξιν ἐξηρτύετο.

8 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ὁ Στότζας τοῦ μὲν κακοῦ ἤδη αἰσθόμενος, δεδιὼς δὲ μή οἱ καὶ πλειόνων στρατιωτῶν[2] τῇ ἀποστάσει ἔτι μᾶλλον τὸ στράτευμα ἐλασσοῦσθαι ξυμβαίη, διακινδυνεύειν τε ἐν τῷ παραυτίκα ἠπείγετο καὶ τοῦ πολέ-
9 μου ὀξύτερον ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. καὶ ἦν γάρ τις αὐτῷ ἐκ τῶν ἐν Καρχηδόνι στρατιωτῶν ἐλπὶς ἀποστάσεως πέρι, ᾤετό τε αὐτούς, ἤν που σφίσιν ἄγχιστα γένηται, πόνῳ οὐδενὶ αὐτομολή-

[1] ἀμυνεῖ Dindorf : ἀμύνῃ V, ἀμύνει PO, ἐπαμύνῃ Theophanes.
[2] στρατιωτῶν VP : στασιωτῶν O.

cities, while all the rest were arrayed with the tyrant against the Romans. He did not, therefore, begin any fighting, but bestowed the greatest care upon his army. And considering that those left in Carthage were the kinsmen or tentmates of the enemy, he kept addressing many winning words to all, and in particular said that he had himself been sent by the emperor to Libya in order to defend the soldiers who had been wronged and to punish those who had unprovoked done them any injury. And when this was found out by the mutineers, they began to come over to him a few at a time. And Germanus both received them into the city in a friendly manner and, giving pledges, held them in honour, and he gave them their pay for the time during which they had been in arms against the Romans. And when the report of these acts was circulated and came to all, they began now to detach themselves in large numbers from the tyrant and to march to Carthage. Then at last Germanus, hoping that in the battle he would be evenly matched in strength with his opponents, began to make preparations for the conflict.

But in the meantime Stotzas, already perceiving the trouble, and fearing lest by the defection of still others of his soldiers the army should be reduced still more, was pressing for a decisive encounter immediately and trying to take hold of the war with more vigour. And since he had some hope regarding the soldiers in Carthage, that they would come over to him, and thought that they would readily desert if he came near them, he held out the hope to all his men;

σειν, ἐς πάντας τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐξενεγκών· ταύτῃ τε
αὐτοὺς μάλιστα ἐπιρρώσας παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
10 *ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα κατὰ τάχος ᾔει. γενόμενός τε*
αὐτῆς ἄπο σταδίων πέντε καὶ τριάκοντα, ἐστρατο-
πεδεύσατο τῆς θαλάσσης οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν, καὶ
Γερμανὸς ἅπαν ἐξοπλίσας τὸ στράτευμα διατάξας
11 *τάξας τε ὡς ἐς μάχην ἐξῆγε. καὶ ἐπεὶ τῆς πόλεως*
ἔξω ἐγένοντο, ἠκηκόει γὰρ ὅσα ἐν ἐλπίδι ὁ
Στότζας εἶχε, ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας ἔλεξε τοιάδε·
12 "Ὡς μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν δικαίως, ὦ ξυστρατιῶται,*
βασιλεῖ μέμψεσθε[1] *οὐδέ τι αἰτιάσεσθε*[2] *τῶν εἰς*
ὑμᾶς αὐτῷ πεπραγμένων, οὐδεὶς ἄν, οἶμαι, τῶν
13 *πάντων ἀντείποι· ὅς γε ὑμᾶς ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἥκοντας*
ξύν τε τῇ πήρᾳ καὶ χιτωνίσκῳ ἑνὶ ξυναγαγὼν ἐς
Βυζάντιον τηλικούσδε εἶναι πεποίηκεν ὥστε τὰ
14 *Ῥωμαίων πράγματα νῦν ἐφ' ὑμῖν κεῖσθαι. ὡς δὲ*
οὐ περιυβρίσθαι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πάντων
δεινότατα παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτὸν πεπονθέναι τετύχηκε,
15 *ξυνεπίστασθε καὶ ὑμεῖς δήπουθεν. ὧν δὴ τὴν*
μνήμην ὑμῖν ἐς ἀεὶ βουλόμενος διασώζεσθαι τὰς
τῶν ἐγκλημάτων αἰτίας ἀφῆκεν, ὄφλημα τοῦτό
γε αὐτῷ μόνον ὀφείλεσθαι παρ' ὑμῶν ἀξιῶν, τὴν
16 *ὑπὲρ τῶν πεπραγμένων αἰσχύνην. ταύτῃ τοίνυν*
ἡγμένους ὑμᾶς μεταμανθάνειν τε τὴν πίστιν
εἰκὸς καὶ τὴν πρόσθεν ἀγνωμοσύνην ἐπανορθοῦν.
17 *μετάμελος γὰρ ἐν δέοντι τοῖς ἐπταικόσιν ἐπι-*
γινόμενος συγγνώμονας αὐτοῖς τοὺς ἠδικημένους
ποιεῖν εἴωθεν, ὑπουργία τε εἰς καιρὸν ἐλθοῦσα
τὸ τῶν ἀχαρίστων ὄνομα μεταβάλλειν φιλεῖ.

[1] *μέμψεσθε* Dindorf : *μέμψησθε* MSS.
[2] *αἰτιάσεσθε* P : *αἰτιάσεσθαι* V, *αἰτιάσησθε* O.

and after encouraging them exceedingly in this way, he advanced swiftly with his whole army against Carthage. And when he had come within thirty-five stades of the city, he made camp not far from the sea, and Germanus, after arming his whole army and arraying them for battle, marched forth. And when they were all outside the city, since he had heard what Stotzas was hoping for, he called together the whole army and spoke as follows:

"That there is nothing, fellow-soldiers, with which you can justly reproach the emperor, and no fault which you can find with what he has done to you, this, I think, no one of you all could deny; for it was he who took you as you came from the fields with your wallets and one small frock apiece and brought you together in Byzantium, and has caused you to be so powerful that the Roman state now depends upon you. And that he has not only been treated with wanton insult, but has also suffered the most dreadful of all things at your hands, you yourselves, doubtless, know full well. And desiring that you should preserve the memory of these things for ever, he has dismissed the accusations brought against you for your crimes, asking that this debt alone be due to him from you—shame for what you have done. It is reasonable, therefore, that you, being thus regarded by him, should learn anew the lesson of good faith and correct your former folly. For when repentance comes at the fitting time upon those who have done wrong, it is accustomed to make those who have been injured indulgent; and service which comes in season is wont to bring another name to those who have been called ungrateful.

18 "Εὖ δὲ ὑμᾶς δεήσει κἀκεῖνο εἰδέναι, ὡς, ἢν ἐν τῷ
παρόντι εὖνοι μάλιστα βασιλεῖ γένησθε, οὐδεμία
19 τοῖς προλαβοῦσι λελείψεται μνήμη. πᾶσα γὰρ
πρᾶξις πέφυκεν ἀεὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τῆς
καταστροφῆς ὀνομάζεσθαι· ἁμάρτημά τε γεγονὸς
ἅπαξ ἀποίητον μὲν οὐδ' ἂν ἐν χρόνῳ τῷ παντὶ
γένοιτο, ἐπανορθωθὲν δὲ πράξεσι τῶν αὐτὸ
εἰργασμένων ἀμείνοσιν εὐπρεποῦς τε τῆς σιωπῆς
ἐπιτυγχάνει καὶ ἐς λήθην ὡς τὰ πολλὰ περι-
20 ίσταται. καίτοι, ἢν μὲν ὀλιγωρίᾳ τινὶ ἐς τούτους
δὴ τοὺς καταράτους τὰ νῦν χρήσησθε, ὕστερον
δὲ πολλοὺς πολέμους ὑπὲρ Ῥωμαίων ἀγωνιζόμενοι
τὸ κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων πολλάκις ἀναδήσησθε
κράτος, οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ὁμοίως ἀνθυπουργηκέναι
21 βασιλεῖ δόξαιτε. οἱ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντες
οἷς ἥμαρτον εὐπρεπεστέραν τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐς
ἀεὶ φέρονται. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς βασιλέα ταύτῃ πῃ
22 λογιζέσθω ὑμῶν ἕκαστος. ἐγὼ δὲ οὔτε ἀδικίας
τινὸς εἰς ὑμᾶς ἄρξας, ἐνδειξάμενός τε πάσῃ
δυνάμει τὴν εἰς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν, καὶ τὰ νῦν καθιστά-
μενος ἐς κίνδυνον τόνδε, τοσοῦτον αἰτεῖσθαι
ἅπαντας ἔγνωκα· μηδεὶς ξὺν ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς
23 πολεμίους παρὰ γνώμην χωρείτω. ἀλλ' εἴ τῳ
ὑμῶν ἐκείνοις ἤδη βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ ξυντάττεσθαι,
μηδὲν μελλήσας ξὺν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν
ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον ἴτω, τοῦτο μόνον ἡμῖν
χαριζόμενος, ὅτι οὐ λάθρα ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ
24 ἐμφανοῦς ἀδικεῖν ἔγνω. τούτου γὰρ ἕνεκα οὐκ
ἐν Καρχηδόνι, ἀλλ' ἐν μεταιχμίῳ γενόμενος τοὺς

"And it will be needful for you to know well this also, that if at the present time you shew yourselves completely loyal to the emperor, no remembrance will remain of what has gone before. For in the nature of things every course of action is characterized by men in accordance with its final outcome; and while a wrong which has once been committed can never be undone in all time, still, when it has been corrected by better deeds on the part of those who committed it, it receives the fitting reward of silence and generally comes to be forgotten. Moreover, if you act with any disregard of duty toward these accursed rascals at the present time, even though afterwards you fight through many wars in behalf of the Romans and often win the victory over the enemy, you will never again be regarded as having requited the emperor as you can requite him to-day. For those who win applause in the very matter of their former wrong-doing always gain for themselves a fairer apology. As regards the emperor, then, let each one of you reason in some such way. But as for me, I have not voluntarily done you any injustice, and I have displayed my good-will to you by all possible means, and now, facing this danger, I have decided to ask this much of you all: let no man advance with us against the enemy contrary to his judgement. But if anyone of you is already desirous of arraying himself with them, without delay let him go with his weapons to the enemy's camp, granting us this one favour, that it be not stealthily, but openly, that he has decided to do us wrong. Indeed, it is for this reason that I am making my speech, not in Carthage, but after coming on the battle-field, in order that I

λόγους ποιοῦμαι, ὅπως ἂν μηδενὶ αὐτομολεῖν ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐθέλοντι ἐμπόδιος εἴην, παρὸν ἅπασι κινδύνου ἐκτὸς τὴν ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν ἐν-
25 δείκνυσθαι γνώμην." Γερμανὸς μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπε. ταραχὴ δὲ πολλὴ ἐν τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ πρῶτος ἠξίου αὐτὸς ἕκαστος εὔνοιάν τε τὴν ἐς βασιλέα τῷ στρατηγῷ ἐπιδείξασθαι καὶ ὅρκους δεινοτάτους ὑπὲρ τούτων ὀμεῖσθαι.

XVII

Χρόνον μὲν οὖν τινα ἑκάτεροι ἀλλήλοις ἀντικαθήμενοι ἔμενον. μετὰ δὲ οἱ στασιῶται οὐδὲν σφίσι προχωροῦν ἐνορῶντες ὧν προὔλεγε Στότζας, ἔδεισάν τε ἅτε τῆς ἐλπίδος παρὰ δόξαν ψευσθέντες, καὶ τὴν τάξιν διαλύσαντες ἀνεχώρησαν, ἔς τε Νουμίδας ἀπήλαυνον, οὗ δὴ αὐτοῖς αἵ τε
2 γυναῖκες καὶ τὰ[1] τῆς λείας χρήματα ἦσαν. ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Γερμανὸς παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἦλθε, τά τε ἄλλα παρεσκευασμένος ὡς ἄριστα καὶ ἁμάξας πολλὰς τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἐπαγαγό-
3 μενος. καταλαβών τε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν χωρίῳ ὃ δὴ Σκάλας Βέτερες καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι, τὰ ἐς τὴν
4 παράταξιν ἐξηρτύετο τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. τὰς ἁμάξας μετωπηδὸν στήσας τοὺς πεζοὺς πάντας κατ' αὐτὰς ἔταξεν, ὧν Δόμνικος ἦρχεν, ὅπως τὰ νῶτα ἐν
5 τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ ἔχοντες θαρσήσωσι μᾶλλον. τῶν δὲ ἱππέων ἄνδρας τε ἀρίστους καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ξὺν αὐτῷ ἥκοντας αὐτὸς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τῶν πεζῶν εἶχε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἅπαντας ἐς κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν οὐ ξυντεταγμένους, ἀλλὰ κατὰ λόχους τρεῖς μά-

[1] καὶ τὰ Herwerden: καὶ MSS.

might not be an obstacle to anyone who desires to desert to our opponents, since it is possible for all without danger to shew their disposition toward the state." Thus spoke Germanus. And a great uproar ensued in the Roman army, for each one demanded the right to be the first to display to the general his loyalty to the emperor and to swear the most dread oaths in confirmation.

XVII

Now for some time the two armies remained in position opposite each other. But when the mutineers saw that nothing of what Stotzas had foretold was coming to pass, they began to be afraid as having been unexpectedly cheated of their hope, and they broke their ranks and withdrew, and marched off to Numidia, where were their women and the money from their booty. And Germanus too came there with the whole army not long afterwards, having made all preparations in the best way possible and also bringing along many wagons for the army. And overtaking his opponents in a place which the Romans call Scalae Veteres, he made his preparations for battle in the following manner. Placing the wagons in line facing the front, he arrayed all the infantry along them under the leadership of Domnicus, so that by reason of having their rear in security they might fight with the greater courage. And the best of the horsemen and those who had come with him from Byzantium he himself had on the left of the infantry, while all the others he placed on the right wing, not marshalled in one body but

6 λιστα ἔστησε. καὶ αὐτῶν Ἰλδίγερ μὲν ἑνὸς
ἡγεῖτο, ἑτέρου δὲ Θεόδωρος ὁ Καππαδόκης, τοῦ
δὲ λειπομένου, μείζονος ὄντος, Ἰωάννης ὁ Πάππου
ἀδελφός, τέταρτος αὐτός. οὕτω μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι
ἐτάξαντο.
7 Οἱ δὲ στασιῶται ἀντίξοοι μὲν αὐτοῖς ἔστησαν,
οὐκ ἐν κόσμῳ μέντοι ταξάμενοι, ἀλλὰ βαρ-
8 βαρικώτερον ἐσκεδασμένοι. εἵποντο δὲ αὐ-
τοῖς οὐ μακρὰν ἄποθεν Μαυρουσίων μυριάδες
πολλαί, ὧν ἄλλοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ Ἰαύδας καὶ
9 Ὀρταΐας ἦρχον. οὐ μέντοι ἅπαντες πιστοὶ τοῖς
ἀμφὶ τὸν Στότζαν ἐτύγχανον ὄντες, ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ
παρὰ Γερμανὸν πέμποντες πρότερον ὡμολόγουν,
ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ γένωνται, ξὺν τῷ βασιλέως
10 στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους τετάξεσθαι. οὐ μὴν
αὐτοῖς πιστεύειν παντάπασιν ὁ Γερμανὸς εἶχεν,
ἐπεὶ ἄπιστον φύσει τὸ Μαυρουσίων γένος ἐστὶν
11 ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ ξὺν τοῖς στα-
σιώταις ἐτάξαντο, ἀλλ' ὄπισθεν ἔμενον, καραδο-
κοῦντες τὸ ἐσόμενον, ὅπως ξὺν τοῖς νικήσουσι[1]
καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡσσημένους ποιή-
12 σωνται. Μαυρούσιοι μὲν τοιαύτῃ γνώμῃ οὐκ
ἀναμιγνύμενοι τοῖς στασιώταις ὄπισθεν εἵποντο.
13 Στότζας δὲ ἄγχιστά πη τῶν πολεμίων γενόμενος,
ἐπειδὴ σημεῖον τὸ Γερμανοῦ εἶδε, τοῖς παροῦσιν
14 ἐγκελευσάμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸν ᾔει. Ἔρουλοι δὲ ὅσοι
στασιῶται ἀμφ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένοι ἐτύγχανον, οὐδὲ
εἵποντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ σθένει ἐκώλυον, φάσκον-
τες οὐκ εἰδέναι μὲν τὴν Γερμανοῦ δύναμιν, ὁποία
ποτέ ἐστιν, ἐξεπίστασθαι μέντοι ὡς οὐδαμῇ
σφίσιν ἀνθέξουσιν ὅσοι ἐς κέρας τὸ δεξιὸν τῶν

[1] νικήσουσι V : νικήσασι P, νικῶσι O.

in three divisions. And Ildiger led one of them, Theodorus the Cappadocian another, while the remaining one, which was larger, was commanded by John, the brother of Pappus, with three others. Thus did the Romans array themselves.

And the mutineers took their stand opposite them, not in order, however, but scattered, more in the manner of barbarians. And at no great distance many thousands of Moors followed them, who were commanded by a number of leaders, and especially by Iaudas and Ortaïas. But not all of them, as it happened, were faithful to Stotzas and his men, for many had sent previously to Germanus and agreed that, when they came into the fight, they would array themselves with the emperor's army against the enemy. However, Germanus could not trust them altogether, for the Moorish nation is by nature faithless to all men. It was for this reason also that they did not array themselves with the mutineers, but remained behind, waiting for what would come to pass, in order that with those who should be victorious they might join in the pursuit of the vanquished. Such was the purpose, then, of the Moors, in following behind and not mingling with the mutineers.

And when Stotzas came close to the enemy and saw the standard of Germanus, he exhorted his men and began to charge against him. But the mutinous Eruli who were arrayed about him did not follow and even tried with all their might to prevent him, saying that they did not know the character of the forces of Germanus, but that they did know that those arrayed on the enemy's

15 πολεμίων ἐτάξαντο. ἢν μὲν οὖν ἐπ᾿ ἐκείνους
χωρήσαιεν, αὐτοί τε οὐχ ὑποστάντες ἐς φυγὴν
τρέψονται καὶ τὸ ἄλλο στράτευμα, ὡς τὸ εἰκός,
συνταράξουσιν· ἢν δέ γε σφᾶς ἀπωσάμενος Γερ-
μανὸς τρέψηται, ἅπαντα σφίσι διαφθαρήσεται
16 αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα τὰ πράγματα. τούτοις ὁ Στότζας
ἀναπεισθεὶς τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γερμανὸν
μάχεσθαι εἴασεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ξὺν τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐπί
τε Ἰωάννην καὶ τοὺς ξὺν αὐτῷ τεταγμένους ᾔει.
17 οἱ δὲ οὐχ ὑποστάντες κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν
ὥρμηντο. οἵ τε στασιῶται πάντα μὲν τὰ σημεῖα
αὐτῶν εὐθὺς ἔλαβον, φεύγοντας δὲ ἀνὰ κράτος
ἐδίωκον, τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς ἤλαυνον,
18 ἤδη τε τὴν τάξιν ἐκλείπειν οἱ πεζοὶ ἤρξαντο. ἐν
τούτῳ δὲ Γερμανὸς αὐτός τε τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος
καὶ ἅπαν τὸ ταύτῃ στράτευμα ἐς τοῦτο ὁρμήσας,
πόνῳ τε πολλῷ τοὺς κατ᾿ αὐτὸν στασιώτας ἐτρέ-
19 ψατο καὶ δρόμῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Στότζαν ἐχώρησε. τούτου
δέ οἱ ἐνταῦθα τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ Ἰλδίγερά
τε καὶ Θεόδωρον ξυναραμένων, οὕτως ἀλλήλοις
ἑκάτεροι ἀνεμίγνυντο, ὥστε διώκοντες οἱ στασιῶ-
ται τῶν τινας πολεμίων ὑφ᾿ ἑτέρων καταλαμβα-
20 νόμενοι ἔθνησκον. τῆς τε ξυγχύσεως ἐπὶ μέγα
χωρούσης οἱ μὲν ἀμφὶ Γερμανόν, ὄπισθεν ἰόντες,
ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐνέκειντο, οἱ δὲ στασιῶται ἐς πολὺ
21 δέος ἐμπεπτωκότες οὐκέτι ἐς ἀλκὴν ἔβλεπον. ἔν-
δηλοι μέντοι οὐδέτεροι οὔτε σφίσιν αὐτοῖς οὔτε
ἀλλήλοις ἐγίνοντο. μιᾷ τε γὰρ φωνῇ καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ
τῶν ὅπλων σκευῇ οἱ πάντες ἐχρῶντο, οὔτε μορφῇ
τινι οὔτε σχήματι οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῳοῦν διαλλάσ-

right would by no means withstand them. If, therefore, they should advance against these, they would not only give way themselves and turn to flight, but would also, in all probability, throw the rest of the Roman army into confusion; but if they should attack Germanus and be driven back and put to rout, their whole cause would be ruined on the spot. And Stotzas was persuaded by these words, and permitted the others to fight with the men of Germanus, while he himself with the best men went against John and those arrayed with him. And they failed to withstand the attack and hastened to flee in complete disorder. And the mutineers took all their standards immediately, and pursued them as they fled at top speed, while some too charged upon the infantry, who had already begun to abandon their ranks. But at this juncture Germanus himself, drawing his sword and urging the whole of that part of the army to do the same, with great difficulty routed the mutineers opposed to him and advanced on the run against Stotzas. And then, since he was joined in this effort by the men of Ildiger and Theodorus, the two armies mingled with each other in such a way that, while the mutineers were pursuing some of their enemy, they were being overtaken and killed by others. And as the confusion became greater and greater, the troops of Germanus, who were in the rear, pressed on still more, and the mutineers, falling into great fear, thought no longer of resistance. But neither side could be distinguished either by their own comrades or by their opponents. For all used one language and the same equipment of arms, and they differed neither in figure nor in dress nor in any other thing

22 σοντες. διὸ δὴ Γερμανοῦ γνώμῃ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως
στρατιῶται,[1] ὅτου ἂν λάβοιντο, ἐπυνθάνοντο ὅσ-
τις ποτὲ εἴη· ἔπειτα, ἤν τις Γερμανοῦ στρατιώτης
φήσειεν εἶναι, οὐκοῦν τὸ Γερμανοῦ ξύμβολον
ἐκέλευον λέγειν, τοῦτο δὲ εἰπεῖν οὐδαμῆ ἔχοντα
23 εὐθὺς ἔκτεινον. ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πόνῳ τὸν Γερμανοῦ
ἵππον τῶν τις πολεμίων λαθὼν ἔκτεινεν, αὐτός τε
ὁ Γερμανὸς ἐς τὸ ἔδαφος ἐκπεσὼν ἐς κίνδυνον
ἦλθεν, εἰ μὴ κατὰ τάχος οἱ δορυφόροι ἐσώσαντο,
φραξάμενοί τε ἀμφ' αὐτὸν καὶ ἀναβιβάσαντες ἐφ'
ἕτερον ἵππον.

24 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Στότζας ἐν τῷ θορύβῳ τούτῳ ξὺν
ὀλίγοις τισὶ διαφυγεῖν ἴσχυσε. Γερμανὸς δὲ τοῖς
ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐγκελευσάμενος εὐθὺ τοῦ τῶν πολε-
25 μίων στρατοπέδου ἐχώρησεν. ἐνταῦθά οἱ τῶν
στασιωτῶν ὑπηντίαζον ὅσοι τοῦ χαρακώματος
26 ἐπὶ τῇ φυλακῇ ἐτετάχατο. μάχης τε ἀμφὶ τὴν
αὐτοῦ εἴσοδον καρτερᾶς γενομένης παρ' ὀλίγον
μὲν οἱ στασιῶται ἦλθον τοὺς ἐναντίους ἀπώ-
σασθαι, πέμψας δὲ ὁ Γερμανὸς τῶν οἱ ἑπομένων
τινὰς κατ' ἄλλην ἀποπειρᾶσθαι χώραν τοῦ στρα-
27 τοπέδου ἐκέλευεν. οἳ δὴ οὐδενὸς ταύτῃ ἀμυνο-
μένου ἐντὸς τοῦ χαρακώματος ξὺν βραχεῖ πόνῳ
28 ἐγένοντο. οἵ τε στασιῶται κατιδόντες αὐτοὺς ἐς
φυγὴν ὥρμηντο, καὶ Γερμανὸς παντὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ
στρατῷ ἐσεπήδησεν εἰς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατό-
29 πεδον. ἐνταῦθα τὰ χρήματα οἱ στρατιῶται οὐ-
δενὶ πόνῳ ἁρπάζοντες οὔτε τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν
λόγῳ ἐποιοῦντό τινι οὔτε τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐγκε-
λευομένου ἔτι κατήκουον, παρόντων χρημάτων.
30 διὸ δὴ ὁ Γερμανός, δείσας μὴ ξυμφρονήσαντες οἱ

[1] οἱ—στρατιῶται V : οἱ—στρατοῦ P, ὁ—στρατὸς O.

whatever. For this reason the soldiers of the emperor by the advice of Germanus, whenever they captured anyone, asked who he was; and then, if he said that he was a soldier of Germanus, they bade him give the watchword of Germanus, and if he was not at all able to give this, they killed him instantly. In this struggle one of the enemy got by unnoticed and killed the horse of Germanus, and Germanus himself fell to the ground and came into danger, and would have been lost had not his guards quickly saved him by forming an enclosure around him and mounting him on another horse.

As for Stotzas, he succeeded in this tumult in escaping with a few men. But Germanus, urging on his men, went straight for the enemy's camp. There he was encountered by those of the mutineers who had been stationed to guard the stockade. A stubborn fight took place around its entrance, and the mutineers came within a little of forcing back their opponents, but Germanus sent some of his followers and bade them make trial of the camp at another point. These men, since no one was defending the camp at this place, got inside the stockade with little trouble. And the mutineers, upon seeing them, rushed off in flight, and Germanus with all the rest of the army dashed into the enemy's camp. There the soldiers, finding it easy to plunder the goods of the camp, neither took any account of the enemy nor paid any further heed to the exhortations of their general, since booty was at hand. For this reason Germanus, fearing lest the enemy should get together

πολέμιοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἴωσιν, αὐτὸς ξὺν ὀλίγοις
τισὶν ἐς τοῦ χαρακώματος τὴν εἴσοδον ἔστη,
πολλά τε ὀλοφυρόμενος καὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἐπαΐοντας
31 ἐς εὐκοσμίαν παρακαλῶν. τῶν δὲ Μαυρουσίων
πολλοὶ τῆς τροπῆς οὕτω γεγενημένης τούς τε
στασιώτας ἐδίωκον ἤδη καὶ ξὺν τῷ βασιλέως
στρατῷ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τάξαντες ἐληΐζοντο τὸ τῶν
32 ἡσσημένων στρατόπεδον. Στότζας δέ, κατ' ἀρ-
χὰς μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ Μαυρουσίων στρατῷ τὸ θαρσεῖν
ἔχων, ὡς ἀναμαχούμενος παρ' αὐτοὺς ἤλαυνεν.
33 αἰσθόμενος δὲ τῶν ποιουμένων, ξὺν ἑκατὸν ἀν-
34 δράσι διαφυγεῖν μόλις ἴσχυσεν. αὖθις δὲ ἀμφ'
αὐτὸν πολλοὶ ξυλλεγέντες ἐνεχείρησαν μὲν τοῖς
πολεμίοις[1] ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν, ἀποκρουσθέντες δὲ
οὐδέν τι ἧσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, Γερμανῷ ἅπαν-
35 τες προσεχώρησαν. μόνος δὲ ὁ Στότζας ξὺν Βαν-
δίλοις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἐς Μαυριτανοὺς ἀνεχώρησε,
καὶ παῖδα τῶν τινος ἀρχόντων γυναῖκα λαβὼν
αὐτοῦ ἔμεινε. καὶ ἡ μὲν στάσις αὕτη ἐς τοῦτο
ἐτελεύτα.

XVIII

Ἦν δέ τις ἐν τοῖς Θεοδώρου τοῦ Καππαδόκου
δορυφόροις, Μαξιμῖνος ὄνομα, πονηρὸς μάλιστα.
2 οὗτος ὁ Μαξιμῖνος, τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλείστους
διομοσαμένους ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν ξὺν αὐτῷ ἔχων,
3 τυραννίδι ἐπιθέσθαι διενοεῖτο. ἔτι τε πλείους
ἑταιρίζεσθαι ἐν σπουδῇ ἔχων ἄλλοις τε τὸ βού-
λευμα φράζει καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδῃ, ὡρμημένῳ μὲν ἐκ
Παλαιστίνης, εὖ δὲ γεγονότι καὶ πρώτῳ τῶν

[1] πολεμίοις V : ἐναντίοις PO.

and come upon them, himself with some few men took his stand at the entrance of the stockade, uttering many laments and urging his unheeding men to return to good order. And many of the Moors, when the rout had taken place in this way, were now pursuing the mutineers, and, arraying themselves with the emperor's troops, were plundering the camp of the vanquished. But Stotzas, at first having confidence in the Moorish army, rode to them in order to renew the battle. But perceiving what was being done, he fled with a hundred men, and succeeded with difficulty in making his escape. And once more many gathered about him and attempted to engage with the enemy, but being repulsed no less decisively than before, if not even more so, they all came over to Germanus. And Stotzas alone with some few Vandals withdrew to Mauretania, and taking to wife the daughter of one of the rulers, remained there. And this was the conclusion of that mutiny.

XVIII

Now there was among the body-guards of Theodorus, the Cappadocian, a certain Maximinus, an exceedingly base man. This Maximinus had first got a very large number of the soldiers to join with him in a conspiracy against the government, and was now purposing to attempt a tyranny. And being eager to associate with himself still more men, he explained the project to others and especially to Asclepiades, a native of Palestine, who was a man of good birth and

4 Θεοδώρου ἐπιτηδείων. ὁ γοῦν Ἀσκληπιάδης
Θεοδώρῳ κοινολογησάμενος τὸν πάντα λόγον εὐ-
5 θὺς Γερμανῷ εἰσαγγέλλει. καὶ ὅς, οὐκ ἐθέλων
ἔτι οἱ τῶν πραγμάτων ᾐωρημένων ἑτέρας τινὸς
ταραχῆς ἄρξαι, θωπείᾳ μᾶλλόν τινι τὸν ἄνθρω-
πον ἢ τιμωρίᾳ περιελθεῖν ἔγνω καὶ ὅρκοις αὐτὸν
6 καταλαβεῖν τῆς ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν εὐνοίας. ὃν[1]
τοίνυν εἰθισμένον ἅπασι Ῥωμαίοις ἐκ παλαιοῦ
μηδένα δορυφόρον τῶν τινος ἀρχόντων καθίστα-
σθαι, ἢν μὴ δεινοτάτους πρότερον ὅρκους παρεχό-
μενος τὰ πιστὰ δοίη τῆς ἐς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν
βασιλέα Ῥωμαίων εὐνοίας, μεταπεμψάμενος[2] τὸν
Μαξιμῖνον τῆς τε εὐτολμίας αὐτὸν ἐπῄνει καὶ
7 δορυφορεῖν τὸ λοιπόν οἱ ἐπέτελλεν. ὁ δὲ περι-
χαρὴς γεγονὼς τῷ ὑπερβάλλοντι τῆς τιμῆς, ταύτῃ
τε ῥᾷον αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπίθεσιν προχωρήσειν ὑποτο-
πάζων, τόν τε ὅρκον ὑπέστη καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐν τοῖς
Γερμανοῦ δορυφόροις ταττόμενος τά τε ὀμωμοσ-
μένα εὐθὺς ἀλογεῖν ἠξίου καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν τυραννίδα
πολλῷ ἔτι μᾶλλον κρατύνασθαι.
8 Ἡ μὲν οὖν πόλις ἑορτήν τινα πανδημεὶ ἦγε,
πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν Μαξιμίνου στασιωτῶν ἀμφὶ τὸν
τοῦ ἀρίστου καιρὸν ἐς Παλάτιον κατὰ τὰ σφίσι
ξυγκείμενα ἧκον, οὗ δὴ ὁ μὲν Γερμανὸς τοὺς ἐπιτη-
δείους εἱστία, παρεστήκει δὲ τῇ θοίνῃ ξὺν τοῖς
9 ἄλλοις δορυφόροις ὁ Μαξιμῖνος. προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ
πότου, εἰσελθών τις Γερμανῷ ἀπαγγέλλει στρατι-
ώτας πολλοὺς κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ πρὸ τῆς αὐλείου θύρας
ἑστῶτας αἰτιᾶσθαι συντάξεις χρόνου πολλοῦ τὸ
10 δημόσιον σφίσιν ὀφείλειν. καὶ ὃς τῶν δορυφόρων

[1] ὃν MSS. : ἣν editors.
[2] μεταπεμψάμενος <οὖν> conjectured by Hoeschel.

the first of the personal friends of Theodorus. Now Asclepiades, after conversing with Theodorus, straightway reported the whole matter to Germanus. And he, not wishing as yet, while affairs were still unsettled, to begin any other disturbance, decided to get the best of the man by cajoling and flattering him rather than by punishment, and to bind him by oaths to loyalty toward the government. Accordingly, since it was an old custom among all Romans that no one should become a body-guard of one of the commanders, unless he had previously taken the most dread oaths and given pledges of his loyalty both toward his own commander and toward the Roman emperor, he summoned Maximinus, and praising him for his daring, directed him to be one of his body-guards from that time forth. And he, being overjoyed at the extraordinary honour, and conjecturing that his project would in this way get on more easily, took the oath, and though from that time forth he was counted among the body-guards of Germanus, he did not hesitate to disregard his oaths immediately and to strengthen much more than ever his plans to achieve the tyranny.

Now the whole city was celebrating some general festival, and many of the conspirators of Maximinus at about the time of lunch came according to their agreement to the palace, where Germanus was entertaining his friends at a feast, and Maximinus took his stand beside the couches with the other body-guards. And as the drinking proceeded, someone entered and announced to Germanus that many soldiers were standing in great disorder before the door of the court, putting forward the charge that the government owed them their pay for a long period. And

τοὺς πιστοτάτους ἐκέλευσε λάθρα τὸν Μαξιμῖνον
ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν, αἴσθησιν αὐτῷ τινα τοῦ ποιου-
11 μένου ὡς ἥκιστα παρεχομένους. οἱ μὲν οὖν
στασιῶται ξύν τε ἀπειλῇ καὶ ταραχῇ ἐπὶ τὸν
ἱππόδρομον δρόμῳ ἐχώρουν οἵ τε τῆς βουλῆς αὐ-
τοῖς μετασχόντες κατὰ βραχὺ ἀγειρόμενοι ἐκ τῶν
12 οἰκημάτων ἐνταῦθα ξυνέρρεον. καὶ εἰ μὲν ξυλλεγ-
ῆναι ἅπαντας ἐς ταὐτὸ ἔτυχεν, οὐκ ἄν τις, οἶμαι,
13 καταλύειν αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν εὐπετῶς ἔσχε· νῦν
δὲ Γερμανὸς προτερήσας ἔτι ἀπολελειμμένου τοῦ
πλείστου ὁμίλου ἅπαντας αὐτίκα τοὺς αὐτῷ τε
καὶ βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔπεμψεν.
14 οἳ δὴ οὐ προσδεχομένοις τοῖς στασιώταις εἰς χεῖ-
ρας ἦλθον. οἱ δὲ οὔτε Μαξιμῖνον σὺν αὐτοῖς
ἔχοντες, ὅνπερ σφίσιν ἐξηγήσεσθαι τοῦ κινδύνου
ἐκαραδόκουν, οὔτε τὸ πλῆθος ὁρῶντες αὐτοῖς, ᾗπερ
ᾤοντο, ξυλλεγέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μαχομένους παρὰ δόξ-
αν σφίσι τοὺς ξυστρατιώτας θεώμενοι καὶ ἀπ'
αὐτοῦ ἐς ὀλιγωρίαν[1] ἐλθόντες ἡσσήθησάν τε
ῥᾳδίως τῇ μάχῃ καὶ κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς φυγὴν
15 ὥρμηντο. καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ ἐναντίοι πολλοὺς μὲν
ἔκτεινον, πολλοὺς δὲ παρὰ Γερμανὸν ζωγρήσαντες
16 ἦγον. ὅσοι μέντοι οὐκ ἔφθησαν εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρο-
μον ἥκοντες, οὐδεμίαν αἴσθησιν τῆς ἐπὶ Μαξιμίνῳ
17 παρέσχοντο γνώμης. Γερμανὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς μὲν
διερευνᾶσθαι οὐκέτι ἠξίου, ἀνεπυνθάνετο δὲ εἰ
Μαξιμίνῳ, ἐπειδὴ ὠμωμόκει, τὰ ἐς τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν
18 ἤσκητο. ἐληλεγμένον τε ὡς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ δορυ-
φόροις ταττόμενος τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ποιοίη,
ἄγχιστά πη αὐτὸν τοῦ Καρχηδόνος περιβόλου

[1] ὀλιγωρίαν MSS.: Haury would prefer ὀρρωδίαν.

he commanded the most trusty of the guards secretly to keep close watch over Maximinus, allowing him in no way to perceive what was being done. Then the conspirators with threats and tumult proceeded on the run to the hippodrome, and those who shared their plan with them gathered gradually from the houses and were assembling there. And if it had so chanced that all of them had come together, no one, I think, would have been able easily to destroy their power; but, as it was, Germanus anticipated this, and, before the greater part had yet arrived, he straightway sent against them all who were well-disposed to himself and to the emperor. And they attacked the conspirators before they expected them. And then, since Maximinus, for whom they were waiting to begin the battle for them, was not with them, and they did not see the crowd gathered to help them, as they had thought it would be, but instead even beheld their fellow-soldiers unexpectedly fighting against them, they consequently lost heart and were easily overcome in the struggle and rushed off in flight and in complete disorder. And their opponents slew many of them, and they also captured many alive and brought them to Germanus. Those, however, who had not already come to the hippodrome gave no indication of their sentiment toward Maximinus. And Germanus did not see fit to go on and seek them out, but he enquired whether Maximinus, since he had sworn the oath, had taken part in the plot. And since it was proved that, though numbered among his own body-guards he had carried on his designs still more than before, Germanus impaled him close by the fortifications of Carthage, and in

ἀνεσκολόπισεν οὕτω τε τὴν στάσιν παντάπασιν καταλύειν ἔσχε. Μαξιμίνου μὲν ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐτελεύτησεν ὧδε.

XIX

Γερμανὸν δὲ ξύν τε Συμμάχῳ καὶ Δομνίκῳ μεταπεμψάμενος βασιλεὺς Σολόμωνι αὖθις ἅπαντα Λιβύης τὰ πράγματα ἐνεχείρισε, τρισκαιδέκατον ἔτος τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἔχων ἀρχήν· στράτευμά τε αὐτῷ παρασχόμενος καὶ ἄρχοντας ἄλλους τε καὶ Ῥουφῖνον καὶ Λεόντιον, τοὺς Ζαύνα τοῦ Φαρεσμάνου, καὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Σισινιόλου υἱόν.
2 Μαρτῖνος γὰρ καὶ Βαλεριανὸς ἤδη πρότερον ἐς
3 Βυζάντιον μετάπεμπτοι ἦλθον. Σολόμων δὲ καταπλεύσας ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ τῆς Στότζα στάσεως ἀπαλλαγεὶς μετρίως τε ἐξηγεῖτο καὶ Λιβύην ἀσφαλῶς διεφύλασσε, διακοσμῶν τε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ εἴ τι μὲν ὕποπτον ἐν αὐτῷ εὕρισκεν, ἔς τε Βυζάντιον καὶ παρὰ Βελισάριον πέμπων, νέους δὲ στρατιώτας εἰς τὸν ἐκείνων ἀριθμὸν καταλέγων καὶ Βανδίλων τοὺς ἀπολελειμμένους καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστά γε αὐτῶν γυναῖκας ἁπάσας ὅλης ἐξοικίζων Λιβύης. πόλιν τε ἑκάστην περιέβαλε τείχει καὶ τοὺς νόμους ξὺν ἀκριβείᾳ φυλάξας πολλῇ
4 τὴν πολιτείαν ὡς μάλιστα διεσώσατο. καὶ ἐγένετο Λιβύη ἐπ' ἐκείνου χρημάτων τε προσόδῳ δυνατὴ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα εὐδαίμων.
5 Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἅπαντά οἱ ὡς ἄριστα διετέτακτο, ἐπί τε Ἰαύδαν καὶ τοὺς ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίους
6 αὖθις ἐστράτευε. καὶ πρῶτα μὲν Γόνθαριν, τῶν δορυφόρων τῶν αὐτοῦ ἕνα, ἄνδρα ἀγαθὸν τὰ

this way succeeded completely in putting down the sedition. As for Maximinus, then, such was the end of his plot.

XIX

And the emperor summoned Germanus together with Symmachus and Domnicus and again entrusted all Libya to Solomon, in the thirteenth year of his reign; and he provided him with an army and officers, among whom were Rufinus and Leontius, the sons of Zaunas the son of Pharesmanas, and John, the son of Sisiniolus. For Martinus and Valerianus had already before this gone under summons to Byzantium. And Solomon sailed to Carthage, and having rid himself of the sedition of Stotzas, he ruled with moderation and guarded Libya securely, setting the army in order, and sending to Byzantium and to Belisarius whatever suspicious elements he found in it, and enrolling new soldiers to equal their number, and removing those of the Vandals who were left and especially all their women from the whole of Libya. And he surrounded each city with a wall, and guarding the laws with great strictness, he restored the government completely. And Libya became under his rule powerful as to its revenues and prosperous in other respects. 539–540 A.D.

And when everything had been arranged by him in the best way possible, he again made an expedition against Iaudas and the Moors on Aurasium. And first he sent forward Gontharis, one of his own

7 πολέμια, ξὺν στρατεύματι ἔπεμψεν. ὃς δὴ ἐς
Ἀβίγαν ποταμὸν ἀφικόμενος ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο
8 ἀμφὶ Βάγαϊν, πόλιν ἔρημον. ἐνταῦθά τε τοῖς
πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν καὶ μάχῃ ἡσσηθεὶς
ἔς τε τὸ χαράκωμα ἀποχωρήσας τῇ Μαυρουσίων
9 προσεδρείᾳ ἐπιέζετο ἤδη. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς
τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἀφικόμενος, ἐπειδὴ σταδίοις
ἑξήκοντα τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἀπεῖχεν οὗ Γόνθαρις
ἡγεῖτο, χαράκωμά τε ποιησάμενος αὐτοῦ ἔμενε
καὶ τὰ ξυμπεσόντα τοῖς ἀμφὶ Γόνθαριν ἅπαντα
ἀκούσας μοῖράν τε αὐτοῖς τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔπεμψε καὶ
θαρσοῦντας ἐκέλευε διαμάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις.
10 οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι καθυπέρτεροι ἐν τῇ ξυμβολῇ,
11 ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, γενόμενοι ἐποίουν τάδε. Ἀβίγας ὁ
ποταμὸς ῥεῖ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Αὐρασίου, κατιὼν δὲ ἐς
πεδίον ἀρδεύει τὴν γῆν οὕτως ὅπως ἂν βουλο-
12 μένοις ᾖ τοῖς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώποις. περιάγουσι γὰρ
τὸ ῥεῦμα τοῦτο οἱ ἐπιχώριοι ὅποι ποτὲ σφίσιν ἐς
τὸ παραυτίκα ξυνοίσειν οἴονται, ἐπεὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ
πεδίῳ ἀπώρυγες συχναὶ τυγχάνουσιν οὖσαι, ἐς
ἃς δὴ ὁ Ἀβίγας σχιζόμενός τε καὶ ἐς πάσας ἰὼν
ὑπὸ γῆν φέρεται καὶ αὖθις ὑπὲρ γῆν διαφαίνεται,
13 ξυνάγων τὸ ῥεῦμα. τοῦτό τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τοῦ
πεδίου ξυμβαῖνον ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τοῖς ταύτῃ ᾠκη-
μένοις τίθεται εἶναι, ἐπιβύσασι χώματι τοὺς
ῥωχμοὺς ἢ αὖθις αὐτοὺς ἀποκαλύψασι τοῖς ὕδασι
14 τοῦ ποταμοῦ τοῦδε ὅ τι βούλοιντο χρῆσθαι. τότε
οὖν ἁπάσας οἱ Μαυρούσιοι τὰς ἐκείνῃ ἀπώρυγας
ἀποφράξαντες ἀφιᾶσι τὸ ῥεῦμα ὅλον φέρεσθαι
15 ἀμφὶ τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων στρατόπεδον. ἀφ᾽ οὗ δὴ
τέλμα βαθὺ γεγονὸς καὶ ἀπόρευτον ἐξέπληξέ τε
αὐτοὺς ὅτι μάλιστα καὶ ἐς ἀπορίαν κατέστησε.

body-guards and an able warrior, with an army. Now Gontharis came to the Abigas River and made camp near Bagaïs, a deserted city. And there he engaged with the enemy, but was defeated in battle, and retiring to his stockade was already being hard pressed by the siege of the Moors. But afterwards Solomon himself arrived with his whole army, and when he was sixty stades away from the camp which Gontharis was commanding, he made a stockade and remained there; and hearing all that had befallen the force of Gontharis, he sent them a part of his army and bade them keep up the fight against the enemy with courage. But the Moors, having gained the upper hand in the engagement, as I have said, did as follows. The Abigas River flows from Aurasium, and descending into a plain, waters the land just as the men there desire. For the natives conduct this stream to whatever place they think it will best serve them at the moment, for in this plain there are many channels, into which the Abigas is divided, and entering all of them, it passes underground, and reappears again above the ground and gathers its stream together. This takes place over the greatest part of the plain and makes it possible for the inhabitants of the region, by stopping up the waterways with earth, or by again opening them, to make use of the waters of this river as they wish. So at that time the Moors shut off all the channels there and thus allowed the whole stream to flow about the camp of the Romans. As a result of this, a deep, muddy marsh formed there through which it was impossible to go; this terrified them exceedingly and reduced them to a state of helplessness. When

16 ταῦτα ἀκούσας Σολόμων κατὰ τάχος ᾔει. οἱ δὲ
βάρβαροι δείσαντες ἀναχωροῦσιν ἐς τοῦ Αὐρα-
σίου τὸν πρόποδα. καὶ ἐν χώρῳ ὃν Βάβωσιν
καλοῦσι, στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ἔμενον. ἄρας τε
17 Σολόμων τῷ παντὶ στρατῷ ἐνταῦθα ἧκε. καὶ
τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν κρατήσας τε παρὰ
18 πολὺ αὐτῶν ἐς φυγὴν ἔτρεψε. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
οἱ Μαυρούσιοι μάχην μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ἀντιπάλου πρὸς
Ῥωμαίους διενεγκεῖν ἀξύμφορον σφίσιν ᾤοντο
εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ αὐτῶν περιέσεσθαι τῇ μάχῃ ἤλπι-
ζον· ἐς δὲ τοῦ Αὐρασίου τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐλπίδα
εἶχον ἀπολέγοντας τῇ ταλαιπωρίᾳ Ῥωμαίους
χρόνῳ ὀλίγῳ ἐνθένδε ἐξανίστασθαι ὥσπερ τὸ
19 πρότερον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ ἔς τε Μαυριτανοὺς
καὶ ἐς τοὺς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τοῦ Αὐρασίου βαρ-
βάρους ᾤχοντο, Ἰαύδας δὲ ξὺν Μαυρουσίων δισ-
μυρίοις ἐνταῦθα ἔμενεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ φρούριον
οἰκοδομησάμενος ἐν Αὐρασίῳ, Ζερβούλην ὄνομα.
οὗ δὴ ἐσελθὼν σὺν πᾶσι Μαυρουσίοις ἡσύχαζε.
20 Σολόμων δὲ χρόνον μὲν τρίβεσθαι τῇ πολιορκίᾳ
ἥκιστα ἤθελε, μαθὼν δὲ τὰ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Ταμου-
γάδην πεδία σίτου ἀκμάζοντος ἔμπλεα εἶναι ἐς
αὐτὰ ἐπῆγε τὸ στράτευμα καὶ ἐγκαθεζόμενος
ἐδῄου τὴν γῆν. πυρπολήσας τε ἅπαντα ἐς Ζερ-
βούλην τὸ φρούριον αὖθις ἀνέστρεψεν.
21 Ἐν δὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τούτῳ ᾧ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐδῄουν τὴν
γῆν, Ἰαύδας καταλιπὼν Μαυρουσίων τινάς, οὓς
μάλιστα ᾤετο ἐς τοῦ φρουρίου τὴν φυλακὴν
ἱκανοὺς ἔσεσθαι, αὐτὸς ἐς τὴν τοῦ Αὐρασίου
ὑπερβολὴν ξὺν τῷ ἄλλῳ στρατῷ ἀνέβη, ὅπως
μὴ πολιορκουμένους ἐνταῦθα τὰ ἐπιτήδεια σφᾶς

this was heard by Solomon, he came quickly. But the barbarians, becoming afraid, withdrew to the foot of Aurasium. And in a place which they call Babosis they made camp and remained there. So Solomon moved with his whole army and came to that place. And upon engaging with the enemy, he defeated them decisively and turned them to flight. Now after this the Moors did not think it advisable for them to fight a pitched battle with the Romans; for they did not hope to overcome them in this kind of contest; but they did have hope, based on the difficult character of the country around Aurasium, that the Romans would in a short time give up by reason of the sufferings they would have to endure and would withdraw from there, just as they formerly had done. The most of them, therefore, went off to Mauretania and the barbarians to the south of Aurasium, but Iaudas with twenty thousand of the Moors remained there. And it happened that he had built a fortress on Aurasium, Zerboule by name. Into this he entered with all the Moors and remained quiet. But Solomon was by no means willing that time should be wasted in the siege, and learning that the plains about the city of Tamougade were full of grain just becoming ripe, he led his army into them, and settling himself there, began to plunder the land. Then, after firing everything, he returned again to the fortress of Zerboule.

But during this time, while the Romans were plundering the land, Iaudas, leaving behind some of the Moors, about as many as he thought would be sufficient for the defence of the fortress, himself ascended to the summit of Aurasium with the rest of the army, not wishing to stand siege in the fort and

22 ἐπιλίποι. χῶρόν τε εὑρὼν κρημνοῖς τε πάντοθεν[1]
ἀνεχόμενον καὶ πρὸς ἀποτόμων πετρῶν καλυπτό-
23 μενον, Τοῦμαρ ὄνομα, ἐνταῦθα ἡσύχαζε. Ῥωμαῖοι
δὲ Ζερβούλην τὸ φρούριον ἐς τρεῖς ἐπολιόρκουν
ἡμέρας. καὶ τόξοις χρώμενοι, ἅτε οὐχ ὑψηλοῦ
ὄντος τοῦ τείχους, πολλοὺς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι
24 βαρβάρων ἔβαλλον. τύχῃ δέ τινι ξυνέπεσεν
ἅπαντας Μαυρουσίων τοὺς ἡγεμόνας τούτοις δὴ
25 ἐντυχόντας τοῖς βέλεσι θνήσκειν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅ τε
τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν χρόνος ἐτρίβη καὶ νὺξ ἐπέ-
λαβε, Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν οὐδὲν τοῦ θανάτου πέρι τῶν ἐν
Μαυρουσίοις ἡγεμόνων πυθόμενοι διαλύειν ἐβου-
26 λεύοντο τὴν προσεδρείαν. ἄμεινον γὰρ Σολόμωνι
ἐφαίνετο ἐπί τε Ἰαύδαν καὶ Μαυρουσίων τὸ πλῆ-
θος ἰέναι, οἰομένῳ, ἢν ἐκείνους πολιορκίᾳ ἑλεῖν
δύνηται, ῥᾷόν τε καὶ ἀπονώτερον τοὺς ἐν Ζερ-
27 βούλῃ βαρβάρους προσχωρήσειν σφίσιν. οἱ δὲ
βάρβαροι οὐκέτι ἀντέχειν τῇ προσεδρείᾳ οἰόμενοι,
ἐπεὶ αὐτοῖς ἅπαντες ἤδη οἱ ἡγεμόνες ἀνῄρηντο,
φεύγειν τε κατὰ τάχος καὶ τὸ φρούριον ἀπολιπεῖν
28 ἔγνωσαν. αὐτίκα γοῦν ἅπαντες σιγῇ τε καὶ
οὐδεμίαν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἴσθησιν παρεχόμενοι
ἔφευγον, οἵ τε Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ἅμα
29 ἡμέρᾳ παρεσκευάζοντο. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῷ τείχει
οὐδείς, καίπερ πολεμίων ἀναχωρούντων, ἐφαίνετο,
ἐθαύμαζόν τε καὶ ἐς ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον
30 διηποροῦντο. ξὺν ταύτῃ τε τῇ ἀμηχανίᾳ τὸ
φρούριον περιιόντες ἀνακεκλιμένην τὴν πυλίδα
εὑρίσκουσιν ὅθεν δὴ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι ᾤχοντο φεύ-
31 γοντες. ἔς τε τὸ φρούριον ἐσελθόντες ἐν ἁρπαγῇ

[1] πάντοθεν V : πανταχόθεν PO.

have provisions fail his forces. And finding a high place with cliffs on all sides of it and concealed by perpendicular rocks, Toumar by name, he remained quietly there. And the Romans besieged the fortress of Zerboule for three days. And using their bows, since the wall was not high, they hit many of the barbarians upon the parapets. And by some chance it happened that all the leaders of the Moors were hit by these missiles and died. And when the three days' time had passed and night came on, the Romans, having learned nothing of the death of the leaders among the Moors, were planning to break up the siege. For it seemed better to Solomon to go against Iaudas and the multitude of the Moors, thinking that, if he should be able to capture that force by siege, the barbarians in Zerboule would with less trouble and difficulty yield to the Romans. But the barbarians, thinking that they could no longer hold out against the siege, since all their leaders had now been destroyed, decided to flee with all speed and abandon the fortress. Accordingly they fled immediately in silence and without allowing the enemy in any way to perceive it, and the Romans also at daybreak began to prepare for departure. And since no one appeared on the wall, although the besieging army was withdrawing, they began to wonder and fell into the greatest perplexity among themselves. And in this state of uncertainty they went around the fortress and found the gate open from which the Moors had departed in flight. And entering the fortress they treated everything as plunder, but they

ἅπαντα ἐποιήσαντο, διώκειν μέντοι ἥκιστα τοὺς πολεμίους διενοοῦντο, ἄνδρας κούφως τε ἐσταλ-
32 μένους καὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων ἐμπείρους. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἅπαντα ἐληίσαντο, φύλακας τοῦ φρουρίου καταστησάμενοι πεζῇ ἅπαντες ἐχώρουν πρόσω.

XX

Ἐλθόντες δὲ ἐς Τοῦμαρ τὸν χῶρον, οὗ δὴ καθείρξαντες σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἡσύχαζον οἱ πολέμιοι, ἄγχι που ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο ἐν δυσχωρίᾳ, ἔνθα οὔτε ὕδατος ὅτι μὴ ὀλίγου οὔτε ἄλλου του ἀναγ-
2 καίου ἐν εὐπορίᾳ ἔσεσθαι ἔμελλον. χρόνου δὲ τριβομένου συχνοῦ τῶν τε βαρβάρων οὐδαμῶς σφίσιν ἐπεξιόντων, αὐτοὶ οὐδέν τι ἧσσον, εἰ μὴ καὶ μᾶλλον, τῇ προσεδρείᾳ πιεζόμενοι ἤσχαλλον.
3 μάλιστα δὲ πάντων τῇ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ ἤχθοντο,[1] ὃ δὴ αὐτὸς Σολόμων ἐφύλασσε, καὶ ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἐς ἡμέραν ἐδίδου, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι
4 κύλικα μίαν ἀνδρὶ ἑκάστῳ. ὡς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἶδε δυσανασχετοῦντάς τε ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ τὰ παρόντα δυσχερῆ φέρειν οὐκέτι οἵους τε ὄντας, ἀποπειρᾶσθαί τε τοῦ χωρίου, καίπερ δυσπροσόδου ὄντος, διενοεῖτο καὶ ξυγκαλέσας ἅπαντας
5 παρεκελεύσατο ὧδε· "Ἐπειδὴ δέδωκεν ὁ θεὸς Ῥωμαίοις ἐν Αὐρασίῳ Μαυρουσίους πολιορκεῖν, πρᾶγμα πρότερόν τε κρεῖσσον ἐλπίδος καὶ νῦν τοῖς γε οὐχ ὁρῶσι τὰ δρώμενα παντελῶς ἄπιστον, ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἡμᾶς τῇ ἄνωθεν ὑπουργοῦντας ἐπικουρίᾳ ταύτην δὴ μὴ καταπροδιδόναι τὴν χάριν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑφισταμένους σὺν προθυμίᾳ τὸν

[1] ἤχθοντο PO: πιεζόμενοι ἤχθοντο V.

had no thought of pursuing the enemy, for they had set out with light equipment and were familiar with the country round about. And when they had plundered everything, they set guards over the fortress, and all moved forward on foot.

XX

And coming to the place Toumar, where the enemy had shut themselves in and were remaining quiet, they encamped near by in a bad position, where there would be no supply of water, except a little, nor any other necessary thing. And after much time had been spent and the barbarians did not come out against them at all, they themselves, no less than the enemy, if not even more, were hard pressed by the siege and began to be impatient. And more than anything else, they were distressed by the lack of water; this Solomon himself guarded, giving each day no more than a single cupful to each man. And since he saw that they were openly discontented and no longer able to bear their present hardships, he planned to make trial of the place, although it was difficult of access, and called all together and exhorted them as follows: "Since God has granted to the Romans to besiege the Moors on Aurasium, a thing which hitherto has been beyond hope and now, to such as do not see what is actually being done, is altogether incredible, it is necessary that we too should lend our aid to the help that has come from above, and not prove false to this favour, but undergoing the danger with enthusiasm, should

κίνδυνον τῶν ἐκ τοῦ κατορθώσειν εὐτυχημάτων
6 ἐφίεσθαι. ὡς πᾶσα μὲν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγ-
μάτων ῥοπὴ ἐς τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ἀκμὴν περιίσταται·
ἣν δέ τις ἐθελοκακήσας προδιδοίη τὴν τύχην, οὐκ
ἂν αὐτὴν αἰτιῷτο δικαίως, αὐτὸς ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτῷ τὴν
7 αἰτίαν πεποιημένος. Μαυρουσίων μὲν τὴν ἀσ-
θένειαν ὁρᾶτε δήπου καὶ τὸ χωρίον οὗ δὴ πάντων
ἀπολελειμμένοι τῶν ἀναγκαίων καθείρξαντες αὐ-
8 τοὺς τηροῦσιν. ὑμᾶς δὲ δυοῖν ἀνάγκη τὸ ἕτερον,
ἢ τῇ προσεδρείᾳ μηδαμῶς ἀχθομένους τὴν τῶν
πολεμίων ὁμολογίαν προσδέχεσθαι, ἢ πρὸς ταύ-
την ὀλιγωροῦντας τὴν μετὰ τοῦ κινδύνου προσ-
9 ίεσθαι[1] νίκην. μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ τὸ πολεμεῖν πρὸς
τούσδε ἡμῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀκίνδυνον ἔσται, οὓς
δὴ τῷ λιμῷ μαχομένους ἤδη οὔποτε ἡμῖν οὐδὲ εἰς
χεῖρας ἀφίξεσθαι οἶμαι. ἅπερ ἐν τῷ παρόντι
ὑμᾶς ἐν νῷ ἔχοντας ἅπαντα προσήκει προθύμως
τὰ παραγγελλόμενα ἐκτελεῖν."

10 Τοσαῦτα Σολόμων παρακελευσάμενος διεσκοπ-
εῖτο ὅθεν ἂν σφίσι τοῦ χωρίου πειράσασθαι
ἄμεινον εἴη, ἀπορουμένῳ τε ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐῴκει.
11 λίαν γάρ οἱ ἄμαχός τις ἡ δυσχωρία ἐφαίνετο. ἐν
ᾧ δὲ Σολόμων ταῦτα ἐν νῷ ἐποιεῖτο, ἡ τύχη ὁδόν
12 τινα τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπορίσατο τήνδε. Γέζων
ἦν τις ἐν τοῖς στρατιώταις πεζός, τοῦ καταλόγου
ὀπτίων εἰς ὃν αὐτὸς ἀνεγέγραπτο· οὕτω γὰρ τὸν
13 τῶν συντάξεων χορηγὸν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. οὗτος
ὁ Γέζων, εἴτε παίζων εἴτε θυμῷ χρώμενος, ἢ καί
τι αὐτὸν θεῖον ἐκίνησεν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἰέναι
δοκῶν ἀνέβαινε μόνος καὶ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἄποθεν

[1] προσίεσθαι editors: προΐεσθαι V, προέσθαι O.

reach after the good fortune which is to come from success. For in every case the turning of the scales of human affairs depends upon the moment of opportunity; but if a man, by wilful cowardice, is traitor to his fortune, he cannot justly blame it, having by his own action brought the guilt upon himself. Now as for the Moors, you see their weakness surely and the place in which they have shut themselves up and are keeping guard, deprived of all the necessities of life. And as for you, one of two things is necessary, either without feeling any vexation at the siege to await the surrender of the enemy, or, if you shrink from this, to accept the victory which goes with the danger. And fighting against these barbarians will be the more free from danger for us, inasmuch as they are already fighting with hunger and I think they will never even come to an engagement with us. Having these things in mind at the present time, it behooves you to execute all your orders with eagerness."

After Solomon had made this exhortation, he looked about to see from what point it would be best for his men to make an attempt on the place, and for a long time he seemed to be in perplexity. For the difficult nature of the ground seemed to him quite too much to contend with. But while Solomon was considering this, chance provided a way for the enterprise as follows. There was a certain Gezon in the army, a foot-soldier, "optio"[1] of the detachment to which Solomon belonged; for thus the Romans call the paymaster. This Gezon, either in play or in anger, or perhaps even moved by some divine impulse, began to make the ascent alone, apparently going against the enemy, and not far from him

[1] See Book III. xvii. 1 and note.

τῶν τινες ξυστρατιωτῶν ᾔεσαν, ἐν θαύματι πολ-
14 λῷ ποιούμενοι τὰ γινόμενα. ὑποτοπήσαντες δὲ
Μαυρουσίων τρεῖς οἳ ἐς τὸ φυλάσσειν τὴν εἴσοδον
ἐτετάχατο ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἰέναι τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀπήντων
15 δρόμῳ. ἅτε δὲ ἐν στενοχωρίᾳ οὐ ξυντεταγμένοι
16 ἐβάδιζον, ἀλλὰ χωρὶς ἕκαστος ᾔει. παίσας δὲ
τὸν πρῶτόν οἱ ἐντυχόντα ὁ Γέζων ἔκτεινεν, οὕτω
17 δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάτερον διειργάσατο. ὃ δὴ
κατιδόντες οἱ ὄπισθεν ἰόντες πολλῷ θορύβῳ τε
18 καὶ ταραχῇ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχώρουν. ὡς δὲ
τὰ δρώμενα ἤκουσέ τε καὶ εἶδεν ἡ Ῥωμαίων
στρατιὰ ξύμπασα, οὔτε τὸν στρατηγὸν ἀναμεί-
ναντες τῆς πορείας σφίσιν ἡγήσασθαι οὔτε τὰς
σάλπιγγας τὴν ξυμβολὴν σημῆναι, καθάπερ
εἴθιστο, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τὴν τάξιν φυλάσσοντες,
ἀλλὰ πατάγῳ τε πολλῷ χρώμενοι καὶ ἀλλήλοις
ἐγκελευόμενοι ἔθεον ἐπὶ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατό-
19 πεδον. ἐνταῦθα Ῥουφῖνός τε καὶ Λεόντιος, οἱ
Ζαύνα τοῦ Φαρεσμάνου, ἔργα ἐπεδείξαντο ἐς τοὺς
20 πολεμίους ἀρετῆς ἄξια. οἷς δὴ οἱ Μαυρούσιοι
καταπεπληγμένοι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τοὺς φύλακας σφῶν
ἀνῃρῆσθαι ἔμαθον, αὐτίκα ἐς φυγὴν ὅπη ἕκαστος
ἐδύνατο ᾔεσαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ πλεῖστοι ἐν ταῖς
21 δυσχωρίαις καταλαμβανόμενοι ἔθνησκον. Ἰαύδας
τε αὐτὸς ἀκοντίῳ πληγεὶς τὸν μηρὸν ὅμως διέ-
22 φυγέ τε καὶ ἐς Μαυριτανοὺς ἀπεχώρησε. Ῥω-
μαῖοι δὲ διαρπάσαντες τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατό-
πεδον οὐκέτι τὸ Αὐράσιον ἐκλείπειν ἔγνωσαν,
ἀλλὰ Σολόμωνος ἐνταῦθα φρούρια οἰκοδομησα-
μένου φυλάσσειν,[1] ὅπως μὴ αὖθις τοῦτο δὴ τὸ
ὄρος Μαυρουσίοις ἐσβατὸν ἔσται.

[1] φυλάσσειν O : φυλάσσουσιν V.

went some of his fellow-soldiers, marvelling greatly at what he was doing. And three of the Moors, who had been stationed to guard the approach, suspecting that the man was coming against them, went on the run to confront him. But since they were in a narrow way, they did not proceed in orderly array, but each one went separately. And Gezon struck the first one who came upon him and killed him, and in this way he despatched each of the others. And when those in the rear perceived this, they advanced with much shouting and tumult against the enemy. And when the whole Roman army both heard and saw what was being done, without waiting either for the general to lead the way for them or for the trumpets to give the signal for battle, as was customary, nor indeed even keeping their order, but making a great uproar and urging one another on, they ran against the enemy's camp. There Rufinus and Leontius, the sons of Zaunas the son of Pharesmanes, made a splendid display of valorous deeds against the enemy. And by this the Moors were terror-stricken, and when they learned that their guards also had been destroyed, they straightway turned to flight where each one could, and the most of them were overtaken in the difficult ground and killed. And Iaudas himself, though struck by a javelin in the thigh, still made his escape and withdrew to Mauretania. But the Romans, after plundering the enemy's camp, decided not to abandon Aurasium again, but to guard fortresses which Solomon was to build there, so that this mountain might not be again accessible to the Moors.

23 Ἔστι δέ τις ἐν Αὐρασίῳ πέτρα ἀπότομος
κρημνῶν ἐς μέσον ἀνέχουσα· πέτραν αὐτὴν Γε-
μινιανοῦ καλοῦσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· οὗ δὴ πύργον οἱ
πάλαι ἄνθρωποι βραχὺν κομιδῇ ποιησάμενοι
καταφυγήν τινα ἰσχυράν τε καὶ ἀμήχανον τῆς
τοῦ χωρίου φύσεως σφίσι ξυλλαμβανούσης ἐδεί-
24 μαντο. ἐνταῦθα ἐτύγχανεν Ἰαύδας τά τε χρή-
ματα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἡμέραις πρότερον ὀλίγαις
ἐναποθέμενος, ἕνα τε γέροντα Μαυρούσιον φύ-
25 λακα τῶν χρημάτων καταστησάμενος. οὐ γὰρ
ἄν ποτε ὑπετόπασεν οὔτε τοὺς πολεμίους ἐς
τόνδε τὸν χῶρον ἀφίξεσθαι οὔτ' ἂν βίᾳ ἐς τὸν
26 ἅπαντα αἰῶνα τὸν πύργον ἑλεῖν. ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι
τότε τοῦ Αὐρασίου τὰς δυσχωρίας διερευνώμενοι
ἐνταῦθα ἧκον, καὶ αὐτῶν τις ἀναβαίνειν εἰς τὸν
πύργον ξὺν γέλωτι ἐνεχείρησεν· αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες
ἐτώθαζον, ἅτε δὴ τῶν ἀμηχάνων ἐφιεμένου κατα-
27 γελῶσαι· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ἀπὸ τοῦ
πύργου διακύψας ἐποίει. ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος στρα-
τιώτης ἐπειδὴ χερσί τε καὶ ποσὶν ἀναβαίνων
ἐγγύς που ἐγεγόνει, σπασάμενος ἡσυχῇ τὸ ξίφος
ἐξήλατό[1] τε ὡς εἶχε τάχους καὶ τοῦ γέροντος εἰς
τὸν αὐχένα ἐπιτυχὼν παίει, τεμεῖν τε αὐτὸν
28 διαμπὰξ ἴσχυσεν. ἥ τε κεφαλὴ ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὸ
ἔδαφος, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται θαρσοῦντες ἤδη καὶ
ἀλλήλων ἐχόμενοι εἰς τὸν πύργον ἀνέβαινον,
καὶ τάς τε γυναῖκας τά τε χρήματα, μεγάλα
29 κομιδῇ ὄντα, ἐνθένδε ἐξεῖλον. ἀφ' ὧν δὴ Σολό-
μων πολλὰς τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλεων περιέβαλε
τείχεσι.

30 Καὶ ἐπειδὴ Μαυρούσιοι ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκ Νου-

[1] ἐξήλατό O Theophanes : ἐξείλετό V.

Now there is on Aurasium a perpendicular rock which rises in the midst of precipices; the natives call it the Rock of Geminianus; there the men of ancient times had built a tower, making it very small as a place of refuge, strong and unassailable, since the nature of the position assisted them. Here, as it happened, Iaudas had a few days previously deposited his money and his women, setting one old Moor in charge as guardian of the money. For he could never have suspected that the enemy would either reach this place, or that they could in all time capture the tower by force. But the Romans at that time, searching through the rough country of Aurasium, came there, and one of them, with a laugh, attempted to climb up to the tower; but the women began to taunt him, ridiculing him as attempting the impossible; and the old man, peering out from the tower, did the same thing. But when the Roman soldier, climbing with both hands and feet, had come near them, he drew his sword quietly and leaped forward as quickly as he could, and struck the old man a fair blow on the neck, and succeeded in cutting it through. And the head fell down to the ground, and the soldiers, now emboldened and holding to one another, ascended to the tower, and took out from there both the women and the money, of which there was an exceedingly great quantity. And by means of it Solomon surrounded many of the cities in Libya with walls.

And after the Moors had retired from Numidia,

μιδίας νικηθέντες, ὥσπερ ἐρρήθη, Ζάβην τε τὴν χώραν, ἣ ὑπὲρ ὄρος τὸ Αὐράσιόν ἐστι Μαυριτανία τε ἡ πρώτη καλεῖται μητρόπολιν Σίτιφιν ἔχουσα, τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῇ ἐς φόρου ἀπαγωγὴν προσε-
31 ποίησε· Μαυριτανίας γὰρ τῆς ἑτέρας πρώτη Καισάρεια τυγχάνει οὖσα, οὗ δὴ ὁ Μαστίγας ξὺν Μαυρουσίοις τοῖς αὐτοῦ ἵδρυτο, ξύμπαντα τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία κατήκοά τε καὶ φόρου ὑποτελῆ
32 πλήν γε δὴ πόλεως Καισαρείας ἔχων. ταύτην γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις Βελισάριος τὸ πρότερον ἀνεσώσατο, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθέν μοι δεδήλωται λόγοις· ἐς ἣν Ῥωμαῖοι ναυσὶ μὲν εἰς ἀεὶ στέλλονται, πεζῇ δὲ ἰέναι οὐκ εἰσὶ δυνατοὶ Μαυρουσίων
33 ἐν ταύτῃ ᾠκημένων τῇ χώρᾳ. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Λίβυες ἅπαντες, οἳ Ῥωμαίων κατήκοοι ἦσαν, εἰρήνης ἀσφαλοῦς τυχόντες καὶ τῆς Σολόμωνος ἀρχῆς σώφρονός τε καὶ λίαν μετρίας, ἔς τε τὸ λοιπὸν πολέμιον ἐν νῷ οὐδὲν ἔχοντες, ἔδοξαν εὐδαιμονέστατοι εἶναι ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων.

XXI

Τετάρτῳ δὲ ὕστερον ἐνιαυτῷ ἅπαντα σφίσιν ἀγαθὰ ἐς τοὐναντίον γενέσθαι ξυνέπεσεν. ἔτος γὰρ ἕβδομόν τε καὶ δέκατον Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος, Κῦρός τε καὶ Σέργιος, οἱ Βάκχου τοῦ Σολόμωνος ἀδελφοῦ παῖδες, πόλεων τῶν ἐν Λιβύῃ πρὸς βασιλέως ἄρχειν ἔλαχον, Πενταπόλεως μὲν Κῦρος ὁ πρεσ-
2 βύτερος, Τριπόλεως δὲ Σέργιος. Μαυρούσιοι δὲ οἱ Λευάθαι καλούμενοι στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐς

defeated in the manner described, the land of Zabe, which is beyond Mt. Aurasium and is called "First Mauretania," whose metropolis is Sitiphis,[1] was added to the Roman empire by Solomon as a tributary province; for of the other Mauretania Caesarea is the first city, where was settled Mastigas[2] with his Moors, having the whole country there subject and tributary to him, except, indeed, the city of Caesarea. For this city Belisarius had previously recovered for the Romans, as has been set forth in the previous narrative[3]; and the Romans always journey to this city in ships, but they are not able to go by land, since Moors dwell in that country. And as a result of this all the Libyans who were subjects of the Romans, coming to enjoy secure peace and finding the rule of Solomon wise and very moderate, and having no longer any thought of hostility in their minds, seemed the most fortunate of all men.

XXI

But in the fourth year after this it came about that all their blessings were turned to the opposite. For in the seventeenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian, Cyrus and Sergius, the sons of Bacchus, Solomon's brother, were assigned by the emperor to rule over the cities in Libya, Cyrus, the elder, to have Pentapolis,[4] and Sergius Tripolis. And the Moors who are called Leuathae came to Sergius 543–544 A.D.

[1] Now Setif.
[2] Called Mastinas in IV. xiii. 19.
[3] Book IV. v. 5.
[4] Cyrenaica.

*Λεπτίμαγναν πόλιν παρ' αὐτὸν ἵκοντο, ἐπιθρυλ-
λοῦντες ὅτι δὴ τούτου ἕνεκα ἥκοιεν, ὅπως ὁ
Σέργιος δῶρά τε καὶ ξύμβολα σφίσι τὰ νομιζό-*
3 *μενα δοὺς τὴν εἰρήνην κρατύνηται. Σέργιος δὲ*
Πουδεντίῳ *ἀναπεισθείς,* Τριπολίτῃ *ἀνδρί, οὗπερ
ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε κατ'
ἀρχὰς τοῦ* Βανδιλικοῦ *πολέμου* Ἰουστινιανῷ
βασιλεῖ ἐπὶ Βανδίλους *ὑπηρετήσαντος, ὀγδοή-
κοντα μὲν τῶν βαρβάρων τοὺς μάλιστα δοκίμους
τῇ πόλει ἐδέξατο, ἅπαντα ἐπιτελέσειν ὑποσχό-
μενος τὰ αἰτούμενα, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐν τῷ*
4 *προαστείῳ μένειν ἐκέλευσε. τούτοις δὴ τοῖς
ὀγδοήκοντα πίστεις ἀμφὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ παρασχό-
μενος, οὕτω δὴ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θοίνην ἐκάλεσε.
τούτους δὲ λέγουσι τοὺς βαρβάρους νῷ δολερῷ
ἐν τῇ πόλει γενέσθαι, ὅπως Σέργιον ἐνεδρεύσαντες*
5 *κτείνωσιν.*[1] *ἐπειδή τε αὐτῷ ἐς λόγους ἦλθον,
ἄλλα τε* Ῥωμαίοις *ἐπεκάλουν ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰ*
6 *λήια σφίσιν οὐ δέον δηϊῶσαι. ἅπερ ὁ Σέργιος
ἐν ἀλογίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἐκ τοῦ βάθρου*[2] *ἐξαναστὰς
ἐφ' οὗπερ καθῆστο, ἐβούλετο ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι.*
7 *καί τις αὐτοῦ τῶν βαρβάρων*[3] *τῆς ἐπωμίδος*
8 *λαβόμενος ἐνεχείρει οἱ ἐμπόδιος εἶναι. ἔς τε
θόρυβον ἐνθένδε*[4] *καταστάντες οἱ ἄλλοι ἀμφ'*
9 *αὐτὸν ἤδη ξυνέρρεον. τῶν δέ τις Σεργίου δορυ-
φόρων τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος τοῦτον δὴ τὸν* Μαυ-
10 *ρούσιον διεχρήσατο. καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ταραχῆς,
ὡς τὸ εἰκός, γενομένης ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ μεγάλης,
οἱ Σεργίου δορυφόροι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἅπαντας*

[1] *κτείνωσιν* V : *διαφθείρωσιν* O.
[2] *βάθρου* O : *βαράθρου* V.
[3] *βαρβάρων* V : *μαυρουσίων* O.
[4] *ἐνθένδε* O : *ἐνθάδε* V.

with a great army at the city of Leptimagna,[1] spreading the report that the reason they had come was this, that Sergius might give them the gifts and insignia of office which were customary[2] and so make the peace secure. But Sergius, persuaded by Pudentius, a man of Tripolis, of whom I made mention in the preceding narrative[3] as having served the Emperor Justinian against the Vandals at the beginning of the Vandalic War, received eighty of the barbarians, their most notable men, into the city, promising to fulfil all their demands; but he commanded the rest to remain in the suburb. Then after giving these eighty men pledges concerning the peace, he invited them to a banquet. But they say that these barbarians had come into the city with treacherous intent, that they might lay a trap for Sergius and kill him. And when they came into conference with him, they called up many charges against the Romans, and in particular said that their crops had been plundered wrongfully. And Sergius, paying no heed to these things, rose from the seat on which he was sitting, with intent to go away. And one of the barbarians, laying hold upon his shoulder, attempted to prevent him from going. Then the others began to shout in confusion, and were already rushing together about him. But one of the bodyguards of Sergius, drawing his sword, despatched that Moor. And as a result of this a great tumult, as was natural, arose in the room, and the guards of Sergius

[1] Now Lebida. [2] Cf. III. xxv. 4 ff.
[3] Book III. x. 22 ff.

11 ἔκτειναν. καὶ αὐτῶν εἷς, ἐπειδὴ κτεινομένους
τοὺς ἄλλους εἶδε, τοῦ τε οἰκήματος ἵνα δὴ ταῦτα
ἐπράσσετο ἐκπεπήδηκε, λαθὼν ἅπαντας, ἔς τε
τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἀφικόμενος τὰ σφίσι ξυμπεσόντα
12 ἐδήλου. οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσαντες ἔς τε τὸ οἰκεῖον
στρατόπεδον κομίζονται δρόμῳ καὶ ξὺν τοῖς
ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐν ὅπλοις ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐγένοντο.
13 οἷς δὴ ἀμφὶ πόλιν Λεπτίμαγναν ἀφικομένοις
Σέργιός τε καὶ Πουδέντιος παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
14 ὑπηντίαζον. τῆς τε μάχης ἐκ χειρὸς γινομένης
τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐνίκων Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τῶν πολεμίων
πολλοὺς ἔκτειναν, καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ στρατόπεδον
ληισάμενοι τῶν τε χρημάτων ἐκράτησαν καὶ
γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων ἐξηνδραπόδισαν μέγα τι
15 χρῆμα. ὕστερον δὲ Πουδέντιος θράσει ἀπερι-
σκέπτῳ ἐχόμενος θνήσκει. Σέργιος δὲ σὺν τῷ
Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ, ἤδη γὰρ καὶ συνεσκόταζεν, ἐς
Λεπτίμαγναν ἐσήλασε.
16 Χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον οἱ μὲν βάρβαροι μείζονι
παρασκευῇ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους ἐστράτευσαν. Σέργιος
δὲ παρὰ Σολόμωνα τὸν θεῖον ἐστάλη, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ
αὐτὸς μείζονι στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἴοι· οὗ
17 δὴ καὶ Κῦρον τὸν ἀδελφὸν εὗρεν. οἵ τε βάρβαροι
ἐς Βυζάκιον ἀφικόμενοι πλεῖστα ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς
ἐληίσαντο τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων· Ἀντάλας δὲ
(οὗπερ ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν λόγοις ἐμνήσθην ἅτε
Ῥωμαίοις πιστοῦ διαμεμενηκότος καὶ δι' αὐτὸ
μόνου ἐν Βυζακίῳ Μαυρουσίων ἄρχοντος) ἤδη
Σολόμωνι ἐκπεπολεμωμένος ἐτύγχανεν, ὅτι τε τὰς
σιτήσεις αἷς αὐτὸν βασιλεὺς ἐτετιμήκει Σολόμων
ἀφείλετο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔκτεινε,
ταραχήν τινα αὐτῷ ἐς Βυζακηνοὺς γινομένην

killed all the barbarians. But one of them, upon seeing the others being slain, rushed out of the house where these things were taking place, unnoticed by anyone, and coming to his tribemates, revealed what had befallen their fellows. And when they heard this, they betook themselves on the run to their own camp and together with all the others arrayed themselves in arms against the Romans. Now when they came near the city of Leptimagna, Sergius and Pudentius confronted them with their whole army. And the battle becoming a hand-to-hand fight, at first the Romans were victorious and slew many of the enemy, and, plundering their camp, secured their goods and enslaved an exceedingly great number of women and children. But afterwards Pudentius, being possessed by a spirit of reckless daring, was killed; and Sergius with the Roman army, since it was already growing dark, marched into Leptimagna.

At a later time the barbarians took the field against the Romans with a greater array. And Sergius went to join his uncle Solomon, in order that he too might go to meet the enemy with a larger army; and he found there his brother Cyrus also. And the barbarians, coming into Byzacium, made raids and plundered a great part of the country there; and Antalas (whom I mentioned in the preceding narrative[1] as having remained faithful to the Romans and as being for this reason sole ruler of the Moors in Byzacium) had by now, as it happened, become hostile to Solomon, because Solomon had deprived him of the maintenance with which the emperor had honoured him and had killed his brother, charging him with responsibility for an uprising against the people of Byzacium.

[1] Book IV. xii. 30.

18 ἐπενεγκών. τότε οὖν[1] τούτους Ἀντάλας τοὺς βαρβάρους ἄσμενός τε εἶδε καὶ ὁμαιχμίαν ποιησάμενος ἐπὶ Σολόμωνά τε καὶ Καρχηδόνα σφίσιν ἡγήσατο.

19 Σολόμων δέ, ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ἤκουσε, παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἄρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ᾔει, καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Τεβέστην, ἓξ ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνος διέχουσαν, ἐστρατοπεδεύσατο αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ Βάκχου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ παῖδες Κῦρός τε καὶ Σέργιος
20 καὶ Σολόμων ὁ νεώτατος. δείσας τε τὸ τῶν βαρβάρων πλῆθος ἔπεμψε παρὰ τῶν Λευαθῶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας, μεμφόμενος μὲν ὅτι δὴ ἔνσπονδοι Ῥωμαίων ὄντες εἶτα ἐν ὅπλοις γενόμενοι ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἥκουσι, τὴν δὲ εἰρήνην ἀξιῶν ἐν σφίσι κρατύνασθαι, ὅρκους τε ὀμεῖσθαι τοὺς δεινοτάτους ὑπέσχετο, ἦ μὴν ἀμνηστίᾳ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐς
21 αὐτοὺς χρήσεσθαι. χλευάζοντες δὲ τὰ εἰρημένα οἱ βάρβαροι πάντως αὐτὸν ὀμεῖσθαι τὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγια ἔφασαν, ἅπερ καλεῖν εὐαγγέλια
22 νενομίκασιν. οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ Σέργιος ταῦτα ὀμόσας εἶτα τοὺς πιστεύσαντας ἔκτεινε, βουλομένοις σφίσιν αὐτοῖς εἴη ἐς μάχην ἰοῦσι τούτων δὴ τῶν λογίων ἀποπειρᾶσθαι, ὁποίαν τινὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιόρκους δύναμιν ἔχουσιν, ὅπως αὐτοῖς βεβαιότατα πιστεύσαντες οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὰς ξυνθήκας καθιστῶνται. ταῦτα Σολόμων ἀκούσας τὰ ἐς τὴν ξυμβολὴν ἐξηρτύετο.

23 Τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ μοίρᾳ τινὶ τῶν πολεμίων λείαν

[1] οὖν V : γοῦν PO.

So at that time Antalas was pleased to see these barbarians, and making an offensive and defensive alliance with them, led them against Solomon and Carthage.

And Solomon, as soon as he heard about this, put his whole army in motion and marched against them, and coming upon them at the city of Tebesta, distant six days' journey from Carthage, he established his camp in company with the sons of his brother Bacchus, Cyrus and Sergius and Solomon the younger. And fearing the multitude of the barbarians, he sent to the leaders of the Leuathae, reproaching them because, while at peace with the Romans, they had taken up arms and come against them, and demanding that they should confirm the peace existing between the two peoples, and he promised to swear the most dread oaths, that he would hold no remembrance of what they had done. But the barbarians, mocking his words, said that he would of course swear by the sacred writings of the Christians, which they are accustomed to call Gospels. Now since Sergius had once taken these oaths and then had slain those who trusted in them,[1] it was their desire to go into battle and make a test of these same sacred writings, to see what sort of power they had against the perjurers, in order that they might first have absolute confidence in them before they finally entered into the agreement. When Solomon heard this, he made his preparations for the combat.

And on the following day he engaged with a

[1] A reference to his slaughter of the eighty notables, IV. xxi. 7, where, however, nothing is said of an oath sworn on the Gospels.

ὅτι πλείστην ἀγούσῃ ξυμβαλὼν καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας
24 ἀφελών τε τὴν λείαν ἐφύλασσε πᾶσαν. δυσανα-
σχετοῦσι δὲ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ δεινὰ ποιου-
μένοις, ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἐδίδου τὰ λάφυρα,
ἔφασκεν ἀναμένειν τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέρας, ὅπως
δὴ ἅπαντα τηνικαῦτα διανείμωνται, καθάπερ
ἂν ἐς τὴν ἀξίαν ἐπιβάλλον ἑκάστῳ φαίνηται.
25 ἐπεὶ δὲ αὖθις οἱ βάρβαροι πάσῃ τῇ στρατιᾷ ἐς
ξυμβολὴν ὥρμηντο, ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμαίων τέ τινες
ἀπελείποντο καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὐ ξὺν προθυμίᾳ ἐς τὴν
26 παράταξιν ᾔεσαν. πρῶτα μὲν οὖν ἀγχώμαλος
ἐγεγόνει ἡ μάχη, ὕστερον δὲ πλήθει πολλῷ ὑπερ-
βαλλομένων τῶν Μαυρουσίων, Ῥωμαίων μὲν οἱ
πολλοὶ ἔφευγον, Σολόμων δὲ καὶ ἀμφ' αὐτόν τινες
χρόνον μέν τινα βαλλόμενοι ἀντεῖχον, ὕστερον δὲ
ὑπερβιαζομένων τῶν πολεμίων σπουδῇ ἔφευγον
ἔς τε ῥύακος ἐκείνῃ ῥέοντος χαράδραν ἀφίκοντο.
27 ἔνθα δὴ ὀκλάσαντός οἱ τοῦ ἵππου Σολόμων ἐκ-
πίπτει ἐς ἔδαφος, καὶ αὐτὸν κατὰ τάχος ταῖς
χερσὶν οἱ δορυφόροι ἀράμενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἵππου
28 καθίζουσι. περιώδυνον δὲ γεγονότα καὶ ἀδύνατον
ἔτι τοῦ χαλινοῦ ἔχεσθαι καταλαβόντες οἱ βάρ-
βαροι αὐτόν τε κτείνουσι καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων
πολλούς. αὕτη τε τοῦ βίου τελευτὴ Σολόμωνι
ἐγένετο.

XXII

Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Σολόμωνος, Σέργιος αὐτοῦ,
ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἀδελφιδοῦς ὤν, δόντος βασιλέως,
2 παρέλαβε τὴν Λιβύης ἀρχήν. ὃς δὴ φθορᾶς
πολλῆς αἰτιώτατος τῷ Λιβύων γένει ἐγένετο,

portion of the enemy as they were bringing in a very large booty, conquered them in battle, seized all their booty and kept it under guard. And when the soldiers were dissatisfied and counted it an outrage that he did not give them the plunder, he said that he was awaiting the outcome of the war, in order that they might distribute everything then, according to the share that should seem to suit the merit of each. But when the barbarians advanced a second time, with their whole army, to give battle, this time some of the Romans stayed behind and the others entered the encounter with no enthusiasm. At first, then, the battle was evenly contested, but later, since the Moors were vastly superior by reason of their great numbers, the most of the Romans fled, and though Solomon and a few men about him held out for a time against the missiles of the barbarians, afterwards they were overpowered by the enemy, and fleeing in haste, reached a ravine made by a brook which flowed in that region. And there Solomon's horse stumbled and threw him to the ground, and his body-guards lifted him quickly in their arms and set him upon his horse. But overcome by great pain and unable to hold the reins longer, he was overtaken and killed by the barbarians, and many of his guards besides. Such was the end of Solomon's life.

XXII

After the death of Solomon, Sergius, who, as has been said, was his nephew, took over the government of Libya by gift of the emperor. And this man became the chief cause of great ruin to the people of Libya,

ἅπαντές τε αὐτοῦ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἤχθοντο, ἄρχοντες
μέν, ὅτι ἀσύνετος ὢν κομιδῇ καὶ νέος τόν τε
τρόπον καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀλαζονικώτατος γέγονεν
ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων, ὕβριζέ τε λόγῳ οὐδενὶ ἐς
αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπερεώρα, πλούτου τε[1] δυνάμει καὶ τῇ
τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξουσίᾳ ἐς τοῦτο ἀεὶ ἐπιχρώμενος· οἱ
δὲ στρατιῶται, ὅτι δὴ ἄνανδρός τε καὶ μαλθακὸς
παντάπασιν ἦν· οἱ δὲ Λίβυες διά τε ταῦτα καὶ
ὅτι γυναικῶν τε καὶ χρημάτων ἀλλοτρίων ἄτοπός
3 τις ἐραστὴς ἐγεγόνει. μάλιστα δὲ πάντων Ἰωάν-
νης ὁ Σισινιόλου τῇ Σεργίου δυνάμει χαλεπῶς
εἶχεν. ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν τὰ πολέμια καὶ διαφερόν-
τως εὐδόκιμος, ἀχαρίστου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀτεχνῶς
4 ἔτυχε. διὸ δὴ οὔτε αὐτὸς οὔτε ἄλλος τῶν πάν-
των οὐδεὶς ὅπλα ἀνταίρειν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἠβού-
5 λετο. τῷ δὲ Ἀντάλᾳ οἵ τε Μαυρούσιοι σχεδόν
τι ἅπαντες εἵποντο καὶ Στότζας ἐκ Μαυριτανίας
6 μετάπεμπτος ἦλθεν. ἐπεί τε οὐδεὶς σφίσιν ἐπεξ-
ῄει τῶν πολεμίων, ἦγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ληιζόμενοι
ἀδεῶς[2] ἅπαντα. τότε Ἀντάλας Ἰουστινιανῷ
7 βασιλεῖ γράμματα ἔγραψεν. ἐδήλου δὲ ἡ γραφὴ
τάδε·

"Δοῦλος μὲν εἶναι τῆς σῆς βασιλείας οὐκ
ἂν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς ἀρνηθείην, Μαυρούσιοι δὲ πρὸς
Σολόμωνος ἐν σπονδαῖς πεπονθότες ἀνόσια ἔργα,
ἐν ὅπλοις ὡς μάλιστα ἠναγκασμένοι γεγόνασιν,
οὔ σοι ταῦτα ἀνταίροντες, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐχθρὸν
8 ἀμυνόμενοι, καὶ διαφερόντως ἐγώ. οὐ γὰρ μόνον[3]
με τῶν σιτήσεων ἀποστερεῖν ἔγνω ἅσπερ μοι
πολλῷ πρότερον χρόνῳ Βελισάριός τε διώρισε

[1] πλούτου τε V : πλούτῳ τε καὶ PO.
[2] ἀδεῶς P : ἀτεχνῶς O. [3] μόνον : μόνων V, ὅσον PO.

and all were dissatisfied with his rule—the officers because, being exceedingly stupid and young both in character and in years, he proved to be the greatest braggart of all men, and he insulted them for no just cause and disregarded them, always using the power of his wealth and the authority of his office to this end; and the soldiers disliked him because he was altogether unmanly and weak; and the Libyans, not only for these reasons, but also because he had shown himself strangely fond of the wives and the possessions of others. But most of all John, the son of Sisiniolus, was hostile to the power of Sergius; for, though he was an able warrior and was a man of unusually fair repute, he found Sergius absolutely ungrateful. For this reason neither he nor anyone else at all was willing to take up arms against the enemy. But almost all the Moors were following Antalas, and Stotzas came at his summons from Mauretania. And since not one of the enemy came out against them, they began to sack the country, making plunder of everything without fear. At that time Antalas sent to the Emperor Justinian a letter, which set forth the following:

"That I am a slave of thy empire not even I myself would deny, but the Moors, having suffered unholy treatment at the hands of Solomon in time of peace, have taken up arms under the most severe constraint, not lifting them against thee, but warding off our personal enemy; and this is especially true of me. For he not only decided to deprive me of the maintenance, which Belisarius long before

καὶ σὺ[1] δέδωκας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν
ἐμὸν ἔκτεινεν, οὐδὲν ἀδίκημα αὐτῷ ἐπενεγκεῖν
9 ἔχων. τὴν μὲν οὖν δίκην παρὰ τοῦ ἠδικηκότος
ἡμᾶς λαβόντες ἔχομεν. εἰ δέ σοι βουλομένῳ ἐστὶ
δουλεύειν τε Μαυρουσίους τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ καὶ
πάντα ὑπηρετεῖν ᾗπερ εἰώθασι, Σέργιον μὲν τὸν
τοῦ Σολόμωνος ἀδελφιδοῦν ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγέντα
ἐπανήκειν παρὰ σὲ κέλευε, ἄλλον δὲ στρατηγὸν
10 εἰς Λιβύην πέμπε. οὐ γάρ σε ἐπιλείψουσιν
ἄνδρες ξυνετοί τε καὶ Σεργίου τῷ παντὶ ἀξιώτεροι·
ἕως γὰρ οὗτος τῷ σῷ ἐξηγεῖται στρατῷ, εἰρήνην
ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους καὶ Μαυρουσίους ξυνίστασθαι
ἀμήχανά ἐστιν."

Ἀντάλας μὲν τοσαῦτα ἔγραψε. βασιλεὺς δὲ
11 ταῦτα ἀναλεξάμενος καὶ μαθὼν τὸ κοινὸν ἁπάν-
των ἐς Σέργιον ἔχθος,[2] οὐδ' ὣς παραλύειν αὐτὸν
τῆς ἀρχῆς ἤθελε, Σολόμωνος τήν τε ἄλλην ἀρετὴν
καὶ τὴν τοῦ βίου καταστροφὴν αἰσχυνόμενος.
ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐφέρετο τῇδε.

12 Σολόμων δέ, ὁ Σεργίου ἀδελφός, δόξας ξὺν τῷ
θείῳ Σολόμωνι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανισθῆναι, πρός
τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἠμελήθη· οὐ γάρ
13 τις αὐτὸν περιόντα ἔγνω. ἐτύγχανον δὲ ζωγρή-
σαντες αὐτὸν ἅτε νέον κομιδῇ ὄντα Μαυρούσιοι,
14 καὶ αὐτοῦ[3] ἀνεπυνθάνοντο ὅστις ποτὲ εἴη. ὁ δὲ
Βανδίλος μὲν γένος, Σολόμωνος δὲ δοῦλος ἔφασκεν
εἶναι. φίλον μέντοι τῶν τινα ἰατρῶν, Πηγάσιον
ὄνομα, εἶναί οἱ ἐν πόλει Λαρίβῳ, πλησίον που
15 οὔσῃ, ὃς αὐτὸν ὠνήσαιτο τὰ λύτρα διδούς. οἱ

[1] σὺ V : αὐτὸς PO.
[2] ἔχθος V : ἄχθος PO.
[3] αὐτοῦ V : αὐτοὶ PO.

specified and thou didst grant, but he also killed my own brother, although he had no wrongdoing to charge against him. We have therefore taken vengeance upon him who wronged us. And if it is thy will that the Moors be in subjection to thy empire and serve it in all things as they are accustomed to do, command Sergius, the nephew of Solomon, to depart from here and return to thee, and send another general to Libya. For thou wilt not be lacking in men of discretion and more worthy than Sergius in every way; for as long as this man commands thy army, it is impossible for peace to be established between the Romans and the Moors."

Such was the letter written by Antalas. But the emperor, even after reading these things and learning the common enmity of all toward Sergius, was still unwilling to remove him from his office, out of respect for the virtues of Solomon and especially the manner of his death. Such, then, was the course of these events.

But Solomon, the brother of Sergius, who was supposed to have disappeared from the world together with his uncle Solomon, was forgotten by his brother and by the rest as well; for no one had learned that he was alive. But the Moors, as it happened, had taken him alive, since he was very young; and they enquired of him who he was. And he said that he was a Vandal by birth, and a slave of Solomon. He said, moreover, that he had a friend, a physician, Pegasius by name, in the city of Laribus near by, who would purchase him by giving ransom. So the

μὲν οὖν Μαυρούσιοι ἄγχιστα τοῦ τῆς πόλεως περιβόλου γενόμενοι ἐκάλουν τε τὸν Πηγάσιον καί οἱ Σολόμωνα ἐπεδείκνυον, ἠρώτων τε εἴ οἱ
16 τοῦτον ὠνεῖσθαι πρὸς ἡδονῆς ἐστι. καὶ ἐπεὶ ὡμολόγει ὠνήσεσθαι, πεντήκοντά οἱ χρυσῶν ἀπέ-
17 δοντο τὸν Σολόμωνα. ἐντὸς δὲ τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος Σολόμων τοὺς Μαυρουσίους, ἅτε πρὸς αὐτοῦ μειρακίου ὄντος ἐξηπατημένους, ἐτώθαζεν· αὐτὸς γὰρ Σολόμων ἔφασκεν, ὁ Βάκχου μὲν παῖς,
18 Σολόμωνος δὲ ἀδελφιδοῦς εἶναι. Μαυρούσιοι δὲ τοῖς τε ξυμπεσοῦσι περιαλγοῦντες καὶ δεινὰ ποιούμενοι, ὅτι δὴ Σεργίου τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων ἐνέχυρον κρατερὸν ἔχοντες εἶτα οὕτω παρέργως ἀφῆκαν, ἐς Λάριβόν τε ἀφίκοντο καὶ αὐτῆς[1] ἐς πολιορκίαν κατέστησαν, ὅπως τὸν Σολόμωνα ξὺν
19 τῇ πόλει αἱρήσουσιν. οἱ δὲ πολιορκούμενοι τῶν βαρβάρων τὴν προσεδρείαν κατορρωδήσαντες, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐσκομισάμενοι ἔτυχον, τοῖς Μαυρουσίοις ἐς λόγους ἦλθον, ἐφ' ᾧ χρήματα μεγάλα περιβαλλόμενοι τὴν προσεδρείαν εὐθὺς
20 διαλύσωσιν. οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἂν ἑλεῖν βίᾳ τὴν πόλιν οἰόμενοι, ἐπεὶ Μαυρουσίοις τειχομαχεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἤσκηται, σπανίζειν τε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς πολιορκουμένοις ἥκιστα ἔγνωσαν, τούς τε λόγους ἐνεδέχοντο καὶ τρισχιλίους κεκομισμένοι χρυσοῦς τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσαν, καὶ οἱ Λευάθαι ἐπ' οἴκου ξύμπαντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

XXIII

Ἀντάλας δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατὸς ξυνελέγοντο αὖθις ἐν Βυζακίῳ, καὶ αὐτοῖς Στότ-

[1] αὐτῆς V : αὐτοῖς PO.

Moors came up close to the fortifications of the city and called Pegasius and displayed Solomon to him, and asked whether it was his pleasure to purchase the man. And since he agreed to purchase him, they sold Solomon to him for fifty pieces of gold. But upon getting inside the fortifications, Solomon taunted the Moors as having been deceived by him, a mere lad; for he said that he was no other than Solomon, the son of Bacchus and nephew of Solomon. And the Moors, being deeply stung by what had happened, and counting it a terrible thing that, while having a strong security for the conduct of Sergius and the Romans, they had relinquished it so carelessly, came to Laribus and laid siege to the place, in order to capture Solomon with the city. And the besieged, in terror at being shut in by the barbarians, for they had not even carried in provisions, as it happened, opened negotiations with the Moors, proposing that upon receiving a great sum of money they should straightway abandon the siege. Whereupon the barbarians, thinking that they could never take the city by force—for the Moors are not at all practised in the storming of walls—and at the same time not knowing that provisions were scarce for the besieged, welcomed their words, and when they had received three thousand pieces of gold, they abandoned the siege, and all the Leuathae retired homeward.

XXIII

But Antalas and the army of the Moors were gathering again in Byzacium and Stotzas was with

ζας ξυνῆν, στρατιώτας τε ὀλίγους τινὰς καὶ
2 Βανδίλους ἔχων. Ἰωάννης δὲ ὁ Σισινιόλου,
πολλὰ λιπαρούντων[1] Λιβύων, στράτευμα ἀγεί-
3 ρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἦλθεν. ἐτύγχανε δὲ Ἱμέριος
Θρᾷξ τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ καταλόγων ἄρχων, ὃν δὴ
τότε Ἰωάννης ἐκέλευε πάντας ἐπαγόμενον τοὺς
ταύτῃ καταλόγους ξὺν τοῖς ἑκάστῳ ἡγουμένοις
ἐλθόντα ἐς χωρίον Μενεφέσση, ὅ ἐστιν ἐν Βυζα-
4 κίῳ, σφίσι ξυμμῖξαι. ὕστερον δὲ ἀκούσας ἐν-
ταῦθα ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους, Ἱμε-
ρίῳ ἔγραφε τά τε ξυμπεσόντα δηλῶν καὶ σφίσιν
ἐπαγγέλλων ἑτέρωθι ἀναμίγνυσθαι, ὅπως μὴ
κατὰ μόνας, ἀλλὰ κοινῇ ἅπαντες ὑπαντιάσωσι
5 τοῖς πολεμίοις. τύχῃ δέ τινι οἱ ταῦτα τὰ γράμ-
ματα ἔχοντες ὁδῷ ἑτέρᾳ χρησάμενοι τὸν Ἱμέριον
εὑρεῖν οὐδαμῇ ἴσχυσαν, ἀλλὰ ξὺν τῷ στρατῷ
ἐμπεπτωκὼς ἐς τὸ τῶν ἐναντίων στρατόπεδον
6 γέγονεν ὑπὸ ταῖς ἐκείνων χερσίν. ἦν δέ τις ἐν
τούτῳ τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ νεανίας Σεβηριανός,
Ἀσιατικοῦ παῖς, Φοῖνιξ, Ἐμεσηνὸς γένος, κατα-
7 λόγου ἱππικοῦ ἄρχων. ὃς δὴ μόνος ξὺν τοῖς
ἀμφ' αὐτὸν στρατιώταις, πεντήκοντα οὖσι, τοῖς
8 πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε. καὶ χρόνον μὲν ἀντ-
εῖχόν τινα, ἔπειτα δὲ πλήθει πολλῷ βιαζόμενοι
ἐς λόφον ἀνέδραμον ἐνταῦθά πῃ ὄντα, οὗ δὴ καὶ
9 φρούριον οὐκ ἀσφαλὲς ἦν. διὸ δὴ ὁμολογίᾳ
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἐνταῦθα ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
10 ἀναβεβηκόσι παρέδωκαν. οἱ δὲ οὔτε αὐτὸν οὔτε
τῶν στρατιωτῶν τινα ἔκτειναν, ἀλλὰ ζωγρήσαν-
τες ἅπαντας, Ἱμέριον μὲν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔσχον, τῷ
δὲ Στότζᾳ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρέδοσαν, ὁμολο-

[1] λιπαρούντων VP: παρακαλούντων O.

them, having some few soldiers and Vandals. And John, the son of Sisiniolus, being earnestly entreated by the Libyans, gathered an army and marched against them. Now Himerius, the Thracian, was commander of the troops in Byzacium, and at that time he was ordered by John to bring with him all the troops there, together with the commanders of each detachment, and come to a place called Menephesse, which is in Byzacium, and join his force there. But later, upon hearing that the enemy were encamped there, John wrote to Himerius telling what had happened and directing him to unite with his forces at another place, that they might not go separately, but all together, to encounter the enemy. But by some chance those who had this letter, making use of another road, were quite unable to find Himerius, and he together with his army, coming upon the camp of the enemy, fell into their hands. Now there was in this Roman army a certain youth, Severianus, son of Asiaticus, a Phoenician and a native of Emesa, commanding a detachment of horse. This man alone, together with the soldiers under him, fifty in number, engaged with the enemy. And for some time they held out, but later, being overpowered by the great multitude, they ran to the top of a hill in the neighbourhood on which there was also a fort, but one which offered no security. For this reason they surrendered themselves to their opponents when they ascended the hill to attack them. And the Moors killed neither him nor any of the soldiers, but they made prisoners of the whole force; and Himerius they kept under guard, and handed over his soldiers to Stotzas, since they agreed with

γοῦντας σφίσι ξὺν προθυμίᾳ πολλῇ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους στρατεύσεσθαι· τὸν μέντοι Ἱμέριον, ἢν μὴ τὰ ἐπαγγελλόμενα ποιῇ, κτείνειν ἠπείλουν.
11 ἐπήγγελλον[1] δὲ πόλιν Ἀδραμητὸν ἐπιθαλασσίαν μηχανῇ τινι σφίσιν ἐνδοῦναι. καὶ ἐπεί οἱ ἰσχυρίζετο βουλομένῳ εἶναι, ἐπὶ Ἀδραμητὸν ξὺν αὐτῷ
12 ᾔεσαν. τῆς τε πόλεως ἀγχοῦ γενόμενοι Ἱμέριον μὲν ὀλίγῳ ἔμπροσθεν ξὺν στρατιώταις τῶν Στότζᾳ ἑπομένων τισὶν ἔπεμψαν, Μαυρουσίους δεδεμένους
13 δῆθεν ἐφέλκοντα, αὐτοὶ δὲ ὄπισθεν εἵποντο. καὶ τῷ Ἱμερίῳ εἰπεῖν τοῖς ἐφεστῶσι ταῖς τῆς πόλεως πύλαις ἐπέστελλον, ὡς νικῴη μὲν κατὰ κράτος ὁ βασιλέως στρατός, ἥξει δὲ Ἰωάννης αὐτίκα δὴ μάλα, πλῆθος Μαυρουσίων δορυαλώτων ἄγων ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖσσον· οὕτω τε τῶν πυλῶν σφίσιν ἀνοιγνυμένων, ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ξὺν τοῖς ἅμα
14 αὐτῷ ἰοῦσι γενέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Ἀδραμητηνοὶ δὲ οὕτως ἐξαπατηθέντες (οὐ γὰρ ἀπιστεῖν τῷ πάντων ἄρχοντι τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ στρατιωτῶν εἶχον) τὰς πύλας ἀναπετά-
15 σαντες τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδέχοντο. τότε δὴ οἱ ξὺν τῷ Ἱμερίῳ ἐσβάντες σπασάμενοι τὰ ξίφη τὰς πύλας ἐπιτιθέναι τοὺς ταύτῃ φύλακας οὐκέτι εἴων, ἀλλὰ πάντα τῇ πόλει αὐτίκα ἐδέξαντο τὸν
16 τῶν Μαυρουσίων στρατόν. ληισάμενοί τε αὐτὴν οἱ βάρβαροι καὶ φύλακας καταστησάμενοι ὀλί-
17 γους τινὰς ἀπηλλάσσοντο. Ῥωμαίων δὲ τῶν ζωγρηθέντων τινὲς μὲν φεύγοντες ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἦλθον, ἐν οἷς Σεβηριανός τε καὶ Ἱμέριος ἦν. ἐκ Μαυρουσίων γὰρ τοῖς φεύγειν ἐθέλουσιν οὐ χαλε-

[1] ἐπήγγελλον Maltretus : ἐπήγγελλε MSS.

great readiness to march with the rebels against the Romans; Himerius, however, they threatened with death, if he should not carry out their commands. And they commanded him to put into their hands by some device the city of Hadrumetum on the sea. And since he declared that he was willing, they went with him against Hadrumetum. And upon coming near the city, they sent Himerius a little in advance with some of the soldiers of Stotzas, dragging along, as it seemed, some Moors in chains, and they themselves followed behind. And they directed Himerius to say to those in command of the gates of the city that the emperor's army had won a decisive victory, and that John would come very soon, bringing an innumerable multitude of Moorish captives; and when in this manner the gates had been opened to them, he was to get inside the fortifications together with those who went with him. And he carried out these instructions. And the citizens of Hadrumetum, being deceived in this way (for they could not distrust the commander of all the troops in Byzacium), opened wide the gates and received the enemy. Then, indeed, those who had entered with Himerius drew their swords and would not allow the guards there to shut the gates again, but straightway received the whole army of the Moors into the city. And the barbarians, after plundering it and establishing there some few guards, departed. And of the Romans who had been captured some few escaped and came to Carthage, among whom were Severianus and Himerius. For it was not difficult for those who wished it to make

πὸν ἦν. πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ξὺν τῷ Στότζᾳ οὔτι ἄκοντες[1] ἔμειναν.

18 Χρόνῳ δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον τῶν τις ἱερέων, Παῦλος ὄνομα, ὃς δὴ ἐφεστήκει[2] τῇ τῶν νοσούντων ἐπιμελείᾳ, κοινολογησάμενος τῶν λογίμων τισίν, "Αὐτὸς μέν," ἔφη, "ἐς Καρχηδόνα σταλήσομαι καὶ κατὰ τάχος ξὺν στρατῷ ἐπανήξειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω, ὑμῖν δὲ μελήσει τῇ πόλει τὸ βασι-
19 λέως στράτευμα δέξασθαι." οἱ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν βρόχοις τισὶν ἀνάψαντες νύκτωρ ἀπὸ τοῦ περιβόλου καθῆκαν, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῆς θαλάσσης τὴν ἠιόνα γενόμενος, ὁλκάδος τε ἁλιέων ἐπιτυχὼν ἐνταῦθά πη οὔσης χρήμασι πολλοῖς ἀναπείσας
20 τοὺς ταύτης κυρίους ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἔπλει. οὗ δὴ καταπλεύσας καὶ Σεργίῳ ἐς ὄψιν ἐλθὼν τόν τε λόγον ἅπαντα ἔφρασε καὶ στράτευμα λόγου ἄξιον
21 ὡς Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνασωσομένῳ διδόναι ἠξίου. καὶ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα Σέργιον ἥκιστα ἤρεσκεν, ἅτε τοῦ ἐν Καρχηδόνι στρατοῦ οὐ πολλοῦ ὄντος, ὅδε[3] ὀλίγους οἱ στρατιώτας τινὰς διδόναι ἐδεῖτο, λαβὼν τε ἄνδρας οὐ πλέον ὀγδοήκοντα, ἐπενοει τοιάδε.
22 νηῶν τε ἄθροισιν καὶ ἀκάτων συχνῶν ποιησάμενος ναύτας τε πολλοὺς ἐνταῦθα ἐσεβίβασε καὶ Λίβυας ἄλλους, ἱμάτια περιβεβλημένους ἃ δὴ Ῥωμαίων οἱ στρατιῶται εἰώθασιν ἐνδιδύσκεσθαι.
23 ἄρας τε τῷ παντὶ στόλῳ εὐθὺ[4] Ἀδραμητοῦ κατὰ τάχος ἔπλει. καὶ ἐπεὶ αὐτῆς ἄγχιστα ἐγεγόνει, πέμψας τινὰς λάθρα τοῖς τῆς πόλεως δοκίμοις ἐσήμαινεν ὡς Γερμανὸς ὁ βασιλέως ἀνεψιὸς ἐς

[1] ἄκοντες V : ἀκούσιοι PO.
[2] ἐφεστήκει Scaliger : ἐνεστήκει P, ἐνστήκει O.
[3] ὅδε Christ, ὁ δὲ MSS. [4] εὐθὺ Dindorf : εὐθὺς MSS.

their escape from Moors. And many also, not at all unwillingly, remained with Stotzas.

Not long after this one of the priests, Paulus by name, who had been appointed to take charge of the sick, in conferring with some of the nobles, said: "I myself shall journey to Carthage and I am hopeful that I shall return quickly with an army, and it will be your care to receive the emperor's forces into the city." So they attached some ropes to him and let him down by night from the fortifications, and he, coming to the sea-shore and happening upon a fishing-vessel which was thereabouts, won over the masters of this boat by great sums of money and sailed off to Carthage. And when he had landed there and come into the presence of Sergius, he told the whole story and asked him to give him a considerable army in order to recover Hadrumetum. And since this by no means pleased Sergius, inasmuch as the army in Carthage was not great, the priest begged him to give him some few soldiers, and receiving not more than eighty men, he formed the following plan. He collected a large number of boats and skiffs and embarked on them many sailors and Libyans also, clad in the garments which the Roman soldiers are accustomed to wear. And setting off with the whole fleet, he sailed at full speed straight for Hadrumetum. And when he had come close to it, he sent some men stealthily and declared to the notables of the city that Germanus, the emperor's nephew, had recently come to

Καρχηδόνα ἔναγχος ἥκων Ἀδραμητηνοῖς λόγου
24 πολλοῦ ἄξιον στράτευμα πέμψειεν. οἷς δὴ θαρ-
σοῦντας ἐκέλευε τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἀνακλῖναι
25 σφίσι πυλίδα μίαν. οἱ δὲ τὰ ἐπηγγελμένα
ἐποίουν. οὕτω τε ὁ Παῦλος ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις
ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενόμενος τούς τε πολεμίους
ἅπαντας ἔκτεινε καὶ βασιλεῖ Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνεσώ-
σατο· ἥ τε ἀμφὶ Γερμανῷ φήμη ἐνθένδε ἀρξαμένη
26 ἄχρι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ἐχώρησεν. οἱ δὲ Μαυρούσιοι
καὶ ὁ Στότζας ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ταῦτα ἀκού-
σαντες κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν κατωρρώδησάν τε καὶ ἐς
τὰς Λιβύης ἐσχατιὰς φεύγοντες ᾤχοντο, ἔπειτα
δὲ γνόντες τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον δεινὰ ἐποιοῦντο, εἰ
αὐτοὶ Ἀδραμητηνῶν φεισάμενοι πάντων τοιαῦτα
27 πρὸς ἐκείνων πεπόνθασι. διὸ δὴ πανταχῆ ἐπι-
σκήψαντες ἀνόσια Λίβυας ἔργα εἰργάσαντο,
οὐδεμιᾶς ἡλικίας φεισάμενοι, γέγονέ τε τότε ἀν-
28 θρώπων ἔρημος ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἡ χώρα. Λιβύων
γὰρ τῶν ἀπολελειμμένων οἱ μὲν ἐς τὰς πόλεις
διέφευγον, οἱ δὲ ἔς τε Σικελίαν καὶ νήσους τὰς
29 ἄλλας. οἱ μέντοι λόγιμοι σχεδόν τι ἅπαντες ἐς
Βυζάντιον ἦλθον, ἐν τοῖς καὶ Παῦλος ἦν, ὁ τὴν
30 Ἀδραμητὸν ἀνασωσάμενος βασιλεῖ. οἵ τε Μαυ-
ρούσιοι ἀδεέστερον, ἅτε οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἐπεξιόντος,
ἦγόν τε καὶ ἔφερον ἅπαντα καὶ ξὺν αὐτοῖς ὁ
31 Στότζας ἐν δυνάμει ὢν ἤδη. Ῥωμαῖοι γὰρ αὐτῷ
στρατιῶται πολλοὶ εἵποντο, οἱ μὲν αὐτόμολοι
ἥκοντες, οἱ δὲ κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν αἰχμάλωτοι γε-
32 γενημένοι, ἐθελούσιοι δὲ αὐτοῦ μείναντες. Ἰωάν-
νης δέ, οὗ δὴ λόγος τις ἦν ἐν Μαυρουσίοις, Σεργίῳ
προσκεκρουκὼς ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἡσυχίαν ἦγεν.

Carthage, and had sent a very considerable army to the citizens of Hadrumetum. And he bade them take courage at this and open for them one small gate that night. And they carried out his orders. Thus Paulus with his followers got inside the fortifications, and he slew all the enemy and recovered Hadrumetum for the emperor; and the rumour about Germanus, beginning there, went even to Carthage. And the Moors, as well as Stotzas and his followers, upon hearing this, at first became terrified and went off in flight to the extremities of Libya, but later, upon learning the truth, they counted it a terrible thing that they, after sparing all the citizens of Hadrumetum, had suffered such things at their hands. For this reason they made raids everywhere and wrought unholy deeds upon the Libyans, sparing no one whatever his age, and the land became at that time for the most part depopulated. For of the Libyans who had been left some fled into the cities and some to Sicily and the other islands. But almost all the notables came to Byzantium, among whom was Paulus also, who had recovered Hadrumetum for the emperor. And the Moors with still less fear, since no one came out against them, were plundering everything, and with them Stotzas, who was now powerful. For many Roman soldiers were following him, some who had come as deserters, and others who had been in the beginning captives but now remained with him of their own free will. And John, who was indeed a man of some reputation among the Moors, was remaining quiet because of the extreme hostility he had conceived against Sergius.

XXIV

Ἐν τούτοις δὲ βασιλεὺς ἄλλον ἐς Λιβύην στρατηγὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ξὺν στρατιώταις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἔπεμψεν, ἄνδρα ἐκ βουλῆς μὲν καὶ εὖ γεγονότα,
2 ἔργων δὲ πολεμίων οὐδαμῶς ἔμπειρον. καὶ ξὺν αὐτῷ Ἀθανάσιον ἔπαρχον ἄρτι ἐξ Ἰταλίας ἥκοντα ἔστελλε καὶ Ἀρμενίους ὀλίγους τινάς, ὧν Ἀρταβάνης τε καὶ Ἰωάννης ἦρχον, Ἰωάννου παῖδες, Ἀρσακίδαι μὲν γένος, ἔναγχος δὲ ἀπολιπόντες τὸ Περσῶν στράτευμα, ἔς τε Ῥωμαίους αὖθις[1] ξὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἀρμενίοις αὐτόμολοι ἥκον-
3 τες. συνῆν δὲ τῷ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ ἥ τε ἀδελφὴ καὶ Πρεϊέκτα ἡ γυνή, Βιγλεντίας θυγάτηρ τῆς βασι-
4 λέως Ἰουστινιανοῦ ἀδελφῆς. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ Σέργιον μετεπέμπετο, ἀλλ' αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἀρεόβινδον Λιβύης στρατηγοὺς ἐκέλευεν εἶναι, τήν τε χώραν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς καταλόγους διελομένους.
5 ἐπέβαλε δὲ Σεργίῳ μὲν τὸν πόλεμον διενεγκεῖν πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Νουμιδίᾳ βαρβάρους, Ἀρεοβίνδῳ δὲ τοῖς ἐν Βυζακίῳ Μαυρουσίοις ἀεὶ διαμάχεσθαι.
6 καταπλεύσαντός τε τοῦ στόλου τούτου ἐς Καρχηδόνα, Σέργιος μὲν ἐπὶ Νουμιδίας ξὺν τῷ οἰκείῳ στρατῷ ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ Ἀντάλαν τε καὶ Στότζαν ἐνστρατοπεδεύεσθαι μαθὼν ἀμφὶ πόλιν Σικκαβενερίαν, τριῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδῷ Καρχηδόνος διέχουσαν, Ἰωάννην τὸν Σισινιόλου ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευεν ἰέναι τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπολεξάμενον
7 εἴ τι ἄριστον ἦν· τῷ τε Σεργίῳ ἔγραφε τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἰωάννην ἀναμίγνυσθαι, ἐφ' ᾧ κοινῇ ἅπαντες

[1] αὖθις PO: om. V.

XXIV

At this time the emperor sent to Libya, with some few soldiers, another general, Areobindus, a man of the senate and of good birth, but not at all skilled in matters of warfare. And he sent with him Athanasius, a prefect, who had come recently from Italy, and some few Armenians led by Artabanes and John, sons of John, of the line of the Arsacidae,[1] who had recently left the Persian army and as deserters had come back to the Romans, together with the other Armenians. And with Areobindus was his sister and Prejecta, his wife, who was the daughter of Vigilantia, the sister of the Emperor Justinian. The emperor, however, did not recall Sergius, but commanded both him and Areobindus to be generals of Libya, dividing the country and the detachments of soldiers between them. And he enjoined upon Sergius to carry on the war against the barbarians in Numidia, and upon Areobindus to direct his operations constantly against the Moors in Byzacium. And when this expedition landed at Carthage, Sergius departed forthwith for Numidia with his own army, and Areobindus, upon learning that Antalas and Stotzas were encamped near the city of Siccaveneria, which is three days' journey distant from Carthage, commanded John, the son of Sisiniolus, to go against them, choosing out whatever was best of the army; and he wrote to Sergius to unite with the forces of John, in order that they might all with one common force engage

[1] Cf. Book II. iii. 32.

8 ὁμόσε τοῖς πολεμίοις χωρήσουσι. Σέργιος μὲν
οὖν τῶν τε γεγραμμένων καὶ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου
ὀλιγωρεῖν ἔγνω, ὁ δὲ Ἰωάννης ξὺν ὀλίγῳ στρατῷ
ἀμυθήτῳ ἠνάγκαστο πολεμίων πλήθει ἐς χεῖρας
9 ἰέναι. ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τε καὶ Στότζᾳ μέγα τι ἀεὶ
ἐς ἀλλήλους ἔχθος,[1] ἑκάτερός τε αὐτοῖν ηὔχετο
φονεὺς θατέρου γενόμενος οὕτω δὴ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων
10 ἀφανισθῆναι. τότε γοῦν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἡ μάχη
ἐν χερσὶ γίγνεσθαι ἔμελλεν, ἄμφω ἐκ τῶν στρα-
11 τοπέδων ἐλαύνοντες ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἦλθον. ὁ μὲν
οὖν Ἰωάννης ἐντείνας τὸ τόξον ἔτι προσιόντα τὸν
Στότζαν κατὰ βουβῶνα τὸν δεξιὸν ἐπιτυχὼν
βάλλει, ὁ δὲ καιρίαν πληγεὶς[2] αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν,
οὔπω μὲν τεθνεώς, χρόνον δέ τινα ὀλίγον ταύτῃ
12 δὴ ἐπιβιωσόμενος τῇ πληγῇ. ἐπελθόντες δὲ
πάντες αὐτίκα, ὅσοι τε αὐτῷ εἵποντο καὶ ὁ τῶν
Μαυρουσίων στρατός, Στότζαν μὲν ὀλιγοψυ-
χοῦντα ἐπὶ δένδρου τινὸς ἔθεντο, αὐτοὶ δὲ θυμῷ
πολλῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους χωρήσαντες τόν τε
Ἰωάννην καὶ Ῥωμαίους ἅπαντας, ἅτε πλήθει
πολλῷ ὑπεραίροντες, οὐδενὶ πόνῳ ἐτρέψαντο.
13 τότε δή φασιν εἰπεῖν τὸν Ἰωάννην ὡς ἡδύν τινα
θάνατον θνήσκοι, ἐπεί οἱ τὰ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀμφὶ τῷ
Στότζᾳ ἐς πέρας ἀφῖκται. χῶρος δέ τις ἦν
κατάντης ἐνταῦθα, οὗ δὴ αὐτὸν ἀποβάλλει
14 ὀκλάσας ὁ ἵππος. ἐφ' ὃν αὖθις αὐτὸν ἀναθρώ-
σκειν πειρώμενον καταλαβόντες οἱ πολέμιοι κτεί-
νουσιν, ἄνδρα γενόμενον δόξῃ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ μέγαν.
ὅπερ ὁ Στότζας μαθὼν ἐτελεύτησε, τοσοῦτον
15 εἰπών, ὡς ἥδιστα τὸ λοιπὸν θνήσκοι. ἐν ταύτῃ

[1] ἔχθος VPO corr. : ἄχθος O pr. m.
[2] πληγεὶς V : τυπτεὶς P, τυπεὶς O.

with the enemy. Now Sergius decided to pay no heed to the message and have nothing to do with this affair, and John with a small army was compelled to engage with an innumerable host of the enemy. And there had always been great enmity between him and Stotzas, and each one used to pray that he might become the slayer of the other before departing from the world. At that time, accordingly, as soon as the fighting was about to come to close quarters, both rode out from their armies and came against each other. And John drew his bow, and, as Stotzas was still advancing, made a successful shot and hit him in the right groin, and Stotzas, mortally wounded, fell there, not yet dead, but destined to survive this wound only a little time. And all came up immediately, both the Moorish army and those who followed Stotzas, and placing Stotzas with little life in him against a tree, they advanced upon their enemy with great fury; and since they were far superior in numbers, they routed John and all the Romans with no difficulty. Then, indeed, they say, John remarked that death had now a certain sweetness for him, since his prayer regarding Stotzas had reached fulfilment. And there was a steep place near by, where his horse stumbled and threw him off. And as he was trying to leap upon the horse again, the enemy caught and killed him, a man who had shown himself great both in reputation and in valour. And Stotzas learned this and then died, remarking only that now it was most sweet to die.

τῇ μάχῃ καὶ Ἰωάννης Ἀρμένιος Ἀρταβάνου ἀδελφὸς θνήσκει, ἔργα ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπι-
16 δειξάμενος ἀρετῆς ἄξια. βασιλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα ἀκούσας περιώδυνός τε τῇ τοῦ Ἰωάννου ἀρετῇ γεγονὼς μάλιστα, ἀξύμφορόν τε νομίσας εἶναι τοῖν δυοῖν στρατηγοῖν[1] τὴν ἀρχὴν διέπειν,[2] τὸν μὲν Σέργιον εὐθὺς μεταπεμψάμενος ἐς Ἰταλίαν ξὺν στρατῷ ἔπεμψεν,[3] Ἀρεοβίνδῳ δὲ ἅπαν τὸ Λιβύης παρέδωκε κράτος.

XXV

Γόνθαρις δὲ δυοῖν μησὶν ὕστερον ἢ Σέργιος ἐνθένδε ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, τυραννίδι ἐπέθετο τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. ἐτύγχανε μὲν αὐτὸς τῶν ἐν Νουμίδαις καταλόγων ἡγούμενος διατριβήν τε διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα ἔχων, ἔπρασσε δὲ λάθρα ἐς Μαυρουσίους
2 ὅπως ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα[4] χωρήσωσιν. αὐτίκα τοίνυν ἔκ τε Νουμιδίας καὶ Βυζακίου πολεμίων στρατὸς ἐς ταὐτὸ ἀγηγερμένος ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα σπουδῇ πολλῇ ᾔεσαν. ἡγεῖτο δὲ Νουμιδῶν μὲν Κουτζίνας
3 τε καὶ Ἰαύδας, Βυζακηνῶν δὲ Ἀντάλας. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἰωάννης ὁ τύραννος ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις, ὃν δὴ οἱ στασιῶται,[5] Στότζα τετελευτηκότος, ἄρχοντα σφίσιν αὐτοῖς κατεστήσαντο.
4 γνοὺς δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος τὴν ἔφοδον ἄλλους τε τῶν ἀρχόντων ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐς Καρχηδόνα καὶ Γόνθαριν μετεπέμπετο. παρῆν δὲ αὐτῷ ξὺν τοῖς

[1] Haury prefers τὼ δύο στρατηγώ.
[2] διέπειν: μάλιστα διέπειν V, ἔχειν PO.
[3] ἔπεμψεν VP: ἔστειλεν O.
[4] καρχηδόνα P pr. m., Theophanes: καρχηδόνος VP corr., O.
[5] στασιῶται V: στρατιῶται PO.

In this battle John, the Armenian, brother of Artabanes, also died, after making a display of valorous deeds against the enemy. And the emperor, upon hearing this, was very deeply grieved because of the valour of John; and thinking it inexpedient for the two generals to administer the province, he immediately recalled Sergius and sent him to Italy with an army, and gave over the whole power of Libya to Areobindus.

XXV

And two months after Sergius had departed from there, Gontharis essayed to set up a tyranny in the following manner. He himself, as it happened, was commanding the troops in Numidia and spending his time there for that reason, but he was secretly treating with the Moors that they might march against Carthage. Forthwith, therefore, an army of the enemy, having been gathered into one place from Numidia and Byzacium, went with great zeal against Carthage. And the Numidians were commanded by Coutzinas and Iaudas, and the men of Byzacium by Antalas. And with him was also John, the tyrant, and his followers; for the mutineers, after the death of Stotzas, had set him up as ruler over themselves. And when Areobindus learned of their attack, he summoned to Carthage a number of the officers with their men, and among them Gontharis. And he was

5 Ἀρμενίοις καὶ Ἀρταβάνης. ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρεό-
βινδος Γόνθαριν ἐξηγεῖσθαι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ
6 ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκέλευεν. ὁ δὲ προθύμως
οἱ τὰ ἐς τὸν πόλεμον ὑπηρετήσειν ὑποσχόμενος
ἐποίει τάδε. τῶν οἰκετῶν ἕνα, Μαυρούσιον μὲν
γένος, τέχνην δὲ μάγειρον, ἐς τὸ τῶν πολεμίων[1]
στρατόπεδον ἐκέλευσεν ἰέναι, καὶ δόκησιν μὲν
τοῖς ἄλλοις παρέχεσθαι ὅτι δὴ τὸν δεσπότην
ἀποδρὰς ᾤχετο, λάθρα δὲ τῷ Ἀντάλᾳ εἰπεῖν ὡς
αὐτῷ Γόνθαρις κοινωνεῖν βούλοιτο τῆς Λιβύων
7 ἀρχῆς. ὁ μὲν οὖν μάγειρος κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει,
ὁ δὲ Ἀντάλας τὸν μὲν λόγον ἀσμένως ἤκουσε,
τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο, ὡς αἱ γενναῖαι τῶν
πράξεων οὐ διὰ τῶν μαγείρων ἐπιγίνεσθαι τοῖς
8 ἀνθρώποις πεφύκασι. ταῦτα ἐπεὶ Γόνθαρις
ἤκουσε, τῶν δορυφόρων ἕνα, Οὐλίθεον ὄνομα, ᾧ
δὴ μάλιστα πιστοτάτῳ ἐχρῆτο, παρὰ τὸν Ἀν-
τάλαν εὐθὺς ἔπεμψεν, ὡς ἀγχοτάτω Καρχηδόνος
9 αὐτὸν παρακαλῶν ἰέναι. οὕτω γάρ οἱ τὸν Ἀρεό-
10 βινδον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀφανιεῖν ἐπηγγέλλετο. ὁ
μὲν οὖν Οὐλίθεος κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων
Ἀντάλᾳ ξυμβαίνει, ἐφ' ᾧ Βυζακίου μὲν Ἀντάλας
ἄρχοι, τό τε ἥμισυ τῶν Ἀρεοβίνδου χρημάτων
ἔχων καὶ πεντακοσίους τε καὶ χιλίους στρατιώτας
Ῥωμαίους σὺν αὐτῷ ἐπαγόμενος, Γόνθαρις δὲ τὸ
βασιλέως ἀξίωμα λάβοι, Καρχηδόνος τε τὸ
11 κράτος καὶ Λιβύης τῆς ἄλλης ἔχων. ταῦτά τε
διαπεπραγμένος ἐπανῆκεν ἐς τὸ Ῥωμαίων στρατό-
πεδον, ὅπερ ἅπαν πρὸ τοῦ περιβόλου πεποίηντο,[2]
ἐν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς τὰ φυλακτήρια πύλης ἑκάστης

[1] πολεμίων V : ἐναντίων PO.
[2] πεποίηντο Hoeschel in marg. : πεποίηνται MSS.

joined also by Artabanes and the Armenians. Areobindus, accordingly, bade Gontharis lead the whole army against the enemy. And Gontharis, though he had promised to serve him zealously in the war, proceeded to act as follows. One of his servants, a Moor by birth and a cook by trade, he commanded to go to the enemy's camp, and to make it appear to all others that he had run away from his master, but to tell Antalas secretly that Gontharis wished to share with him the rule of Libya. So the cook carried out these directions, and Antalas heard the word gladly, but made no further reply than to say that worthy enterprises are not properly brought to pass among men by cooks. When this was heard by Gontharis, he immediately sent to Antalas one of his body-guards, Ulitheus by name, whom he had found especially trustworthy in his service, inviting him to come as close as possible to Carthage. For, if this were done, he promised him to put Areobindus out of the way. So Ulitheus without the knowledge of the rest of the barbarians made an agreement with Antalas that he, Antalas, should rule Byzacium, having half the possessions of Areobindus and taking with him fifteen hundred Roman soldiers, while Gontharis should assume the dignity of king, holding the power over Carthage and the rest of Libya. And after settling these matters he returned to the Roman camp, which they had made entirely in front of the circuit-wall, distributing among themselves the guarding of each

12 νειμάμενοι. οἱ δὲ βάρβαροι οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον
εὐθὺ Καρχηδόνος σπουδῇ πολλῇ ᾔεσαν, ἔν τε
χωρίῳ τῷ Δεκίμῳ καλουμένῳ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι
ἔμενον. ἐνθένδε τε ἄραντες τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ πρόσω
13 ἐχώρουν. τινὲς δὲ ὑπαντιάσαντες τοῦ Ῥωμαίων
στρατοῦ, ἐς χεῖράς τε αὐτοῖς ἀπροσδόκητοι ἦλθον
14 καὶ Μαυρουσίους οὐ[1] συχνοὺς ἔκτειναν. οὓς δὴ
ὁ Γόνθαρις εὐθὺς ἀνεκάλει κακίζων ἅτε ἀνεπι-
σκέπτως τε θρασυνομένους καὶ τὰ Ῥωμαίων
πράγματα ἐθέλοντας ἐς προὖπτόν τινα ἐμβαλεῖν
κίνδυνον.

15 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος πέμψας παρὰ τὸν
Κουτζίναν λάθρα ἔπρασσε προδοσίας πέρι. καί
οἱ ὁ Κουτζίνας ὡμολόγησεν, ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ
γένωνται, ἐπί τε Ἀντάλαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους τοὺς
16 ἐν Βυζακίῳ τραπέσθαι. Μαυρούσιοι γὰρ οὔτε
πρὸς ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων τινὰς οὔτε πρὸς ἀλλήλους
τὸ πιστὸν ἔχουσι. ταῦτα ἐς Γόνθαριν Ἀρεό-
17 βινδος ἐξήνεγκεν. ὁ δὲ παρακρούεσθαί τε καὶ
ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐθέλων παρῄνει τῷ
Ἀρεοβίνδῳ τὸ πιστὸν ἐς Κουτζίναν ὡς ἥκιστα
ἔχειν, ἢν μὴ τοὺς παῖδας ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ παρ᾽
18 αὐτοῦ λάβοι. Ἀρεόβινδος μὲν οὖν καὶ Κουτζίνας
λάθρα παρ᾽ ἀλλήλους ἀεὶ πέμποντες ἀμφὶ τῇ ἐς
19 Ἀντάλαν ἐπιβουλῇ διατριβὴν εἶχον. Γόνθαρις
δὲ αὖθις τὸν Οὐλίθεον στείλας ἔκπυστα τῷ Ἀν-
20 τάλᾳ ἐποίησε τὰ πρασσόμενα. καὶ ὃς οὔτε τι
τῷ Κουτζίνᾳ ἐπικαλεῖν ἔγνω οὔτε ὅτι ἐπέπυστο
τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν ἔνδηλος αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, οὐ μὴν
οὐδέ τι ἐξήνεγκε τῶν αὐτῷ τε καὶ Γονθάριδι
21 ξυγκειμένων. ἀλλήλοις δὲ ἄμφω πολέμιοί τε

[1] μαυρουσίους οὐ V : μαυρουσίων PO.

gate. And the barbarians not long afterwards proceeded straight for Carthage in great haste, and they made camp and remained in the place called Decimum.[1] And departing from there on the following day, they were moving forward. But some of the Roman army encountered them, and engaging with them unexpectedly, slew a small number of the Moors. But these were straightway called back by Gontharis, who rebuked them for acting with reckless daring and for being willing to give the Romans foreknowledge of the danger into which they were thrown.

But in the meantime Areobindus sent to Coutzinas secretly and began to treat with him with regard to turning traitor. And Coutzinas promised him that, as soon as they should begin the action, he would turn against Antalas and the Moors of Byzacium. For the Moors keep faith neither with any other men nor with each other. This Areobindus reported to Gontharis. And he, wishing to frustrate the enterprise by having it postponed, advised Areobindus by no means to have faith in Coutzinas, unless he should receive from him his children as hostages. So Areobindus and Coutzinas, constantly sending secret messages to each other, were busying themselves with the plot against Antalas. And Gontharis sent Ulitheus once more and made known to Antalas what was being done. And he decided not to make any charges against Coutzinas nor did he allow him to know that he had discovered the plot, nor indeed did he disclose anything of what had been agreed upon by himself and Gontharis. But though enemies and

[1] Cf. Book III. xvii. 11, xxi. 23.

καὶ δυσμενεῖς ταῖς γνώμαις ὄντες νῷ τε πονηρῷ ξυνετάσσοντο, ἐπί τε τὸν οἰκεῖον ἑκάτερος φίλον
22 ἀλλήλοις ξυστρατεύοντες ᾔεσαν. τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ Κουτζίνας τε καὶ Ἀντάλας ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνα τὸν Μαυρουσίων στρατὸν ἐπῆγον. Γόνθαρις δὲ κτεῖναι μὲν τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον διενοεῖτο, τοῦ δὲ μὴ δοκεῖν τυραννίδος ἐπιβατεύειν, ἐν παρατάξει λάθρα τοῦτο δρᾶν ἤθελεν, ὅπως πρὸς ἑτέρων μὲν ἡ ἐπιβουλὴ ἐς τὸν στρατηγὸν γεγενῆσθαι δόξειεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀναγκασθείη[1] τῷ Ῥωμαίων στρατῷ
23 ἀνελέσθαι τὴν Λιβύης ἀρχήν. ἀπάτῃ τοίνυν τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον περιελθὼν πείθει τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπεξελθόντα ὁμόσε ἰέναι, ἤδη που Καρχηδόνος
24 ἄγχιστα ἥκουσιν. ἐδόκει γοῦν αὐτῷ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-
25 μίους ἅμα ἡλίῳ ἀνίσχοντι. ἀλλ᾽ Ἀρεόβινδος ἀπείρως τε λίαν ἐς τὸ πρᾶγμα τοῦτο καὶ ὀκνηρῶς
26 ἔχων μελλήσει ἐχρῆτο οὐδενὶ λόγῳ. μελετῶν τε γὰρ ὅπως ἐνδύσαιτο τὴν τῶν ὅπλων σκευὴν καὶ τἄλλα ἐξαρτυόμενος ἐς τὴν ἔξοδον τὸν πλεῖστον
27 τῆς ἡμέρας ἀνάλωσε χρόνον. διὸ δὴ τὴν παράταξιν ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ἀποθέμενος ἡσυχῇ ἔμενε.
28 Γόνθαρις δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξεπίτηδες τὴν μέλλησιν πεποιῆσθαι ὑποτοπήσας ἅτε τῶν πρασσομένων αἰσθανόμενον, ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς τόν τε φόνον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῆς τυραννίδος τὴν ἐπίθεσιν ἐπιτελεῖν ἔγνω.

XXVI

Ἡμέρᾳ τε τῇ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἐποίει τάδε. τὰς πύλας ἀναπετάσας οὗ δὴ αὐτὸς φυλακὴν εἶχε,

[1] ἀναγκασθείη V : ἀναγκασθεὶς PO.

hostile at heart to one another, they were arrayed together with treacherous intent, and each of them was marching with the other against his own particular friend. With such purposes Coutzinas and Antalas were leading the Moorish army against Carthage. And Gontharis was intending to kill Areobindus, but, in order to avoid the appearance of aiming at sole power, he wished to do this secretly in battle, in order that it might seem that the plot had been made by others against the general, and that he had been compelled by the Roman army to assume command over Libya. Accordingly he circumvented Areobindus by deceit, and persuaded him to go out against the enemy and engage with them, now that they had already come close to Carthage. He decided, therefore, that on the following day he would lead the whole army against the enemy at sunrise. But Areobindus, being very inexperienced in this matter and reluctant besides, kept holding back for no good reason. For while considering how he should put on his equipment of arms and armour, and making the other preparations for the sally, he wasted the greatest part of the day. He accordingly put off the engagement to the following day and remained quiet. But Gontharis, suspecting that he had hesitated purposely, as being aware of what was being done, decided openly to accomplish the murder of the general and make his attempt at the tyranny.

XXVI

And on the succeeding day he proceeded to act as follows. Opening wide the gates where he himself

λίθους μὲν ὑπερφυεῖς ἔνερθεν ἔθηκεν, ὡς μή τις
αὐτὰς ἐπιτιθέναι εὐπετῶς δύναιτο, ἄνδρας τε
τεθωρακισμένους καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντας
ἀμφὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις πολλοὺς ἔστησεν, αὐτός τε
τὸν θώρακα ἐνδὺς εἱστήκει ἐν μέσαις ταῖς πύλαις.
2 ἐπενόει δὲ ταῦτα οὐ Μαυρουσίων ἕνεκα, ὅπως τῇ
πόλει αὐτοὺς δέξηται (ἀβέβαιοι γὰρ Μαυρούσιοι
παντάπασιν ὄντες ὑπόπτως ἔχουσιν ἐς πάντας
3 ἀνθρώπους. τοῦτό τε αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰκότος
γενέσθαι ξυμβαίνει· ἐπεὶ ὅστις ἄπιστος ἐς[1] τοὺς
πέλας καθέστηκε φύσει, οὐδὲ αὐτὸς πιστεύειν
ὁτῳοῦν δύναται, ἀλλ' ὑπόπτως ἔχειν ἀναγκάζεται
ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῆς αὑτοῦ γνώμης τὸν
4 τοῦ πέλας σταθμώμενος τρόπον. διὸ δὴ οὐδὲ
Μαυρουσίους ἤλπιζε Γόνθαρις πιστεύσαντάς οἱ
ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου γενήσεσθαι), ἀλλ' ὅπως
Ἀρεόβινδος ἐμπεσὼν ἐς μέγα τι δέος ἐς φυγήν τε
εὐθὺς ὁρμηθείη καὶ κατὰ τάχος Καρχηδόνα ἀπο-
5 λιπὼν ἐπὶ Βυζαντίου κομίζοιτο. καὶ ἔτυχέ γε
τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐννοίας, εἰ μὴ χειμὼν μεταξὺ ἐπι-
6 γενόμενος διεκώλυσε. μαθὼν δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος τὰ
ποιούμενα, τόν τε Ἀθανάσιον καὶ τῶν δοκίμων
7 τινὰς μετεπέμπετο. παρῆν δέ οἱ καὶ Ἀρταβάνης
ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τρίτος αὐτός, τῷ τε Ἀρεο-
βίνδῳ παρῄνει μήτε ἀναπεπτωκέναι μήτε τόλμῃ
τῇ Γονθάριδος ἐνδιδόναι, ἀλλ' αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπ'
αὐτὸν ὁμοῦ ξὺν πᾶσι τοῖς οἱ ἑπομένοις ἰόντα
ἔργου ἔχεσθαι, πρίν τι περαιτέρω γεγονέναι
8 κακόν. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα πέμψας Ἀρεόβινδος
παρὰ Γόνθαριν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων τινά, Φρέδαν
ὄνομα, ἐκέλευεν ἀποπειρᾶσθαι τῆς αὐτοῦ γνώμης.

[1] ἐς P: πρὸς O.

kept guard, he placed huge rocks under them, that no one might be able easily to shut them, and he placed armoured men with bows in their hands about the parapet in great numbers, and he himself, having put on his breastplate, took his stand between the gates. And his purpose in doing this was not that he might receive the Moors into the city; for the Moors, being altogether fickle, are suspicious of all men. And it is not unnatural that they are so; for whoever is by nature treacherous toward his neighbours is himself unable to trust anyone at all, but he is compelled to be suspicious of all men, since he estimates the character of his neighbour by his own mind. For this reason, then, Gontharis did not hope that even the Moors would trust him and come inside the circuit-wall, but he made this move in order that Areobindus, falling into great fear, might straightway rush off in flight, and, abandoning Carthage as quickly as he could, might betake himself to Byzantium. And he would have been right in his expectation had not winter come on just then and 541–545 A.D. frustrated his plan. And Areobindus, learning what was being done, summoned Athanasius and some of the notables. And Artabanes also came to him from the camp with two others and he urged Areobindus neither to lose heart nor to give way to the daring of Gontharis, but to go against him instantly with all his men and engage him in battle, before any further trouble arose. At first, then, Areobindus sent to Gontharis one of his friends, Phredas by name, and commanded him to test the

9 ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ Φρέδας ἐπανήκων οὐδαμῆ ἀπαρνεῖσθαι
Γόνθαριν τὴν τυραννίδα ἐσήγγελλεν, ἤδη ἐπ'
αὐτὸν ὡς ἐς μάχην ἰέναι διενοεῖτο.
10 Ἐν τούτῳ δὲ Γόνθαρις Ἀρεόβινδον εἰς τοὺς
στρατιώτας διέβαλεν, ὡς ἄνανδρός τε εἴη καὶ ἅμα
μὲν δέει ἐς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐχόμενος, ἅμα δὲ τὰς
συντάξεις σφίσιν ὡς ἥκιστα ἐθέλων διδόναι,
δρασμόν τε ξὺν Ἀθανασίῳ βουλεύεται καὶ αὐτίκα
ἐκ Μανδρακίου ἀποπλεῖν μέλλουσιν, ὅπως οἱ
στρατιῶται λιμῷ τε καὶ Μαυρουσίοις μαχόμενοι
διαφθείρωνται,[1] ἐπυνθάνετό τε εἴπερ αὐτοῖς βου-
λομένοις εἴη ἄμφω ξυλλαβοῦσιν ἐν φυλακῇ ἔχειν.
11 οὕτω γὰρ ἤλπιζεν Ἀρεόβινδον ἢ τοῦ θορύβου
ᾐσθημένον φυγῇ χρήσεσθαι, ἢ καταληφθέντα
πρὸς τῶν στρατιωτῶν διαφθαρήσεσθαι οὐδενὶ
12 λόγῳ. χρήματα μέντοι αὐτὸς οἴκοθεν ὡμολόγει
τοῖς στρατιώταις προΐεσθαι ὅσαπερ αὐτοῖς τὸ
13 δημόσιον ὦφλε. καὶ οἱ μὲν τούς τε λόγους
ἐπήνουν[2] καὶ θυμῷ ἐς τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον πολλῷ
εἴχοντο, μεταξὺ δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος ξύν τε Ἀρταβάνῃ
14 καὶ τοῖς ἑπομένοις ἐνταῦθα ἀφίκεται. καὶ γίνεται
μάχη ἔν τε ταῖς ἐπάλξεσι καὶ κάτω ἀμφὶ τὰς
πύλας οὗ Γόνθαρις εἱστήκει, ἐν ᾗ οὐδέτεροι τὸ
15 ἔλασσον ἔσχον. ἔμελλόν τε ξυλλεγόμενοι ἐκ τῶν
στρατοπέδων, ὅσοι βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς εἶχον, τοὺς
στασιώτας[3] κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν. οὐ γὰρ ἅπαντας
ὁ Γόνθαρίς πω ἐξηπατήκει, ἀλλ' οἱ πλεῖστοι ἔτι
16 ταῖς γνώμαις ἀκραιφνεῖς ἔμενον. Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ
τότε πρῶτον ἄνδρας κτεινομένους ἰδὼν (οὐ γάρ

[1] μαχομένοις διαφθείρονται V, διαφθείρωνται μαχόμενοι PO.
[2] ἐπήνουν—εἴχοντο V : ἐνεδέχοντο PO.
[3] στασιώτας V : στρατιώτας PO.

other's purpose. And when Phredas returned and reported that Gontharis by no means denied his intention of seizing the supreme power, he purposed immediately to go against him arrayed for battle.

But in the meantime Gontharis slandered Areobindus to the soldiers, saying that he was a coward and not only possessed with fear of the enemy, but at the same time quite unwilling to give them, his soldiers, their pay, and that he was planning to run away with Anastasius and that they were about to sail very soon from Mandracium,[1] in order that the soldiers, fighting both with hunger and with the Moors, might be destroyed; and he enquired whether it was their wish to arrest both and keep them under guard. For thus he hoped either that Areobindus, perceiving the tumult, would turn to flight, or that he would be captured by the soldiers and ruthlessly put to death. Moreover he promised that he himself would advance to the soldiers money of his own, as much as the government owed them. And they were approving his words and were possessed with great wrath against Areobindus, but while this was going on Areobindus together with Artabanes and his followers came there. And a battle took place on the parapet and below about the gate where Gontharis had taken his stand, and neither side was worsted. And all were about to gather from the camps, as many as were well disposed to the emperor, and capture the mutineers by force. For Gontharis had not as yet deceived all, but the majority remained still uncorrupted in mind. But Areobindus, seeing then for the first time the killing of men (for he had not yet, as it

[1] The port of Carthage; see III. xx. 3.

πω ἐθὰς τοῦ θεάματος τούτου ἐτύγχανεν ὤν) κατεπλάγη τε καὶ ἀποδειλιάσας οὐκ ἐνεγκών τε τὰ ὁρώμενα φεύγει.

17 Ἔστι δέ τις ἐντὸς τοῦ Καρχηδόνος περιβόλου νεὼς πρὸς τῇ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀκτῇ, οὗ δὴ ἄνδρες οἰκοῦσιν οἷς τὰ ἐς τὸ θεῖον ἀκριβῶς ἤσκηται· μοναχοὺς καλεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀεὶ νενομίκαμεν· τοῦτον Σολόμων δειμάμενος τὸν νεὼν οὐ πολλῷ πρότερον τειχίσματί τε περιβαλὼν φρούριον ἐχυ-
18 ρώτατον κατεστήσατο. ἐνταῦθα καταφυγὼν Ἀρεόβινδος ἐσεπήδησεν, ἔνθα τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν
19 ἀδελφὴν ἐτύγχανε πέμψας. τότε καὶ Ἀρταβάνης ἀπιὼν ᾤχετο, καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ξύμπαντες ἐνθένδε
20 ἀνεχώρουν ὡς ἕκαστός πῃ ἐδύνατο. Γόνθαρις δὲ κατὰ κράτος νενικηκὼς ξὺν τοῖς στασιώταις [1] τὸ Παλάτιον ἔσχε, καὶ τάς τε πύλας τόν τε λιμένα
21 ἐνδελεχέστατα ἤδη ἐφύλαττε. πρῶτα μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἀθανάσιον μετεπέμπετο, καὶ ὃς αὐτῷ οὐδὲν μελ-
22 λήσας ἦλθε, θωπείᾳ τε πολλῇ χρώμενος δόκησιν παρείχετο ὡς αὐτὸν ὅτι μάλιστα ἡ πρᾶξις ἀρέσκοι.
23 ἔπειτα δὲ τὸν τῆς πόλεως ἱερέα πέμψας Ἀρεόβινδον ἐκέλευε τὰ πιστὰ λαβόντα ἐς Παλάτιον ἥκειν, ἀπειλήσας πολιορκήσειν τε ἀπειθήσαντα καὶ μηκέτι αὐτῷ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τὰ πιστὰ
24 δώσειν, ἀλλὰ πάσῃ μηχανῇ ἐξελὼν κτείνειν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς Ῥεπάρατος ἰσχυρίζετο Γονθάριδος γνώμῃ τῷ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ ὀμεῖσθαι, μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἄχαρι πρὸς ἐκείνου ξυμβήσεσθαι, φράσας καὶ
25 ὅσα μὴ πειθομένῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἠπείλησε. δείσας δὲ Ἀρεόβινδος ὡμολόγησεν αὐτίκα τῷ ἱερεῖ

[1] στασιώταις VO: στρατιώταις P.

happened, become acquainted with this sight), was terror-stricken and, turning coward, fled, unable to endure what he saw.

Now there is a temple inside the fortifications of Carthage hard by the sea-shore, the abode of men who are very exact in their practice of religion, whom we have always been accustomed to call "monks"; this temple had been built by Solomon not long before, and he had surrounded it with a wall and rendered it a very strong fortress. And Areobindus, fleeing for refuge, rushed into the monastery, where he had already sent his wife and sister. Then Artabanes too ran away, and all the rest withdrew from Carthage as each one could. And Gontharis, having taken the city by assault, with the mutineers took possession of the palace, and was already guarding both the gates and the harbour most carefully. First, then, he summoned Athanasius, who came to him without delay, and by using much flattery Athanasius made it appear that what had been done pleased him exceedingly. And after this Gontharis sent the priest of the city and commanded Areobindus, after receiving pledges, to come to the palace, threatening that he would besiege him if he disobeyed and would not again give him pledges of safety, but would use every means to capture and put him to death. So the priest, Reparatus, stoutly declared to Areobindus that in accordance with the decision of Gontharis he would swear that no harm would come to him from Gontharis, telling also what he had threatened in case he did not obey. But Areobindus became afraid and agreed that he would follow the priest immediately, if the

ἕψεσθαι, ἣν τὸ θεῖον λουτρὸν ἱερουργήσας, ἧπερ
εἴθισται, εἶτα πρὸς αὐτοῦ οἱ ἀπομοσάμενος ἀμφὶ
26 τῇ σωτηρίᾳ τὰ πιστὰ δοίη. ὁ μὲν οὖν ἱερεὺς
κατὰ ταῦτα ἐποίει. Ἀρεόβινδος δὲ οὐδέν τι
μελλήσας αὐτῷ εἵπετο, ἱμάτιον ἀμπεχόμενος
οὔτε στρατηγῷ οὔτε ἄλλῳ στρατευομένῳ ἀνδρὶ
ἐπιτηδείως ἔχον, ἀλλὰ δούλῳ ἢ ἰδιώτῃ παντά-
πασι πρέπον· κασοῦλαν αὐτὸ τῇ Λατίνων φωνῇ
27 καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι. ἐπειδή τε ἀγχοῦ τοῦ Παλα-
τίου ἐγένοντο, τὰ θεῖα ἐν χερσὶ λόγια παρὰ[1] τοῦ
28 ἱερέως λαβὼν τῷ Γονθάριδι ἐς ὄψιν ἦλθε. πρη-
νὴς τε πεσὼν χρόνον πολὺν αὐτοῦ ἔκειτο, τὴν
ἱκετηρίαν αὐτῷ τά τε θεῖα λόγια προτεινόμενος
καὶ τὸ παιδίον ὅπερ τοῦ θείου ἀξιωθὲν λουτροῦ
ἔτυχεν, ἐφ' οὗ οἱ τὴν πίστιν ὁ ἱερεύς, ὥσπερ μοι
29 ἐρρήθη, παρέσχετο. ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξανέστησεν
ὁ Γόνθαρις μόλις, πρὸς[2] τῶν ἱερῶν ἁπάντων
ἀνεπυνθάνετο τοῦ Γονθάριδος, εἴ οἱ τὰ τῆς σω-
30 τηρίας ἐν ἀσφαλεῖ κεῖται. καὶ ὃς θαρσεῖν αὐτὸν
ἰσχυρότατα ἤδη ἐκέλευεν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄχαρι πρὸς
αὐτοῦ πείσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ ξύν τε τῇ
γυναικὶ καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐκ Καρχηδόνος οἰχή-
31 σεσθαι. εἶτα τὸν ἱερέα Ῥεπάρατον ἀποπεμψά-
μενος, Ἀρεόβινδόν τε καὶ Ἀθανάσιον δειπνεῖν
32 ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐν Παλατίῳ ἐκέλευε. καὶ δειπνοῦντα
μὲν τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ἐτίμα· πρῶτον γὰρ αὐτὸν
ἐπὶ τῆς στιβάδος κατέκλινε· δειπνήσαντα δὲ οὐ
μεθῆκεν, ἀλλὰ καθεύδειν ἐν κοιτῶνι μόνον ἠνάγ-
καζεν· οὗ δὴ τὸν Οὐλίθεον ξὺν ἑτέροις τισὶν ἐπ'
33 αὐτὸν ἔπεμψεν. οἵπερ αὐτὸν κωκύοντά τε καὶ
ὀλολυγαῖς συχναῖς χρώμενον πολλά τε πρὸς

[1] παρὰ PO : πρὸς V. [2] πρὸς V : παρὰ PO.

priest, after performing the rite of the sacred bath[1] in the usual manner, should swear to him by that rite and then give him pledges for his safety. So the priest did according to this. And Areobindus without delay followed him, clad in a garment which was suitable neither for a general nor for any one else in military service, but altogether appropriate to a slave or one of private station; this garment the Romans call "casula"[2] in the Latin tongue. And when they came near the palace, he took in his hands the holy scriptures from the priest, and so went before Gontharis. And falling prone he lay there a long time, holding out to him the suppliant olive-branch and the holy scriptures, and with him was the child which had been counted worthy of the sacred bath by which the priest had given him the pledge, as has been told. And when, with difficulty, Gontharis had raised him to his feet, he enquired of Gontharis in the name of all things holy whether his safety was secure. And Gontharis now bade him most positively to be of good cheer, for he would suffer no harm at his hands, but on the following day would be gone from Carthage with his wife and his possessions. Then he dismissed the priest Reparatus, and bade Areobindus and Athanasius dine with him in the palace. And during the dinner he honoured Areobindus, inviting him to take his place first on the couch; but after the dinner he did not let him go, but compelled him to sleep in a chamber alone; and he sent there Ulitheus with certain others to assail him. And while he was wailing and crying aloud again and again and speaking many entreating

[1] *i.e.* baptism.
[2] A garment with a cowl, like the *cucullus*.

ἔλεον ἐπαγωγὰ φθεγγόμενον ἐς αὐτοὺς κτείνουσιν.
Ἀθανασίου μέντοι ἐφείσαντο, τὸ γῆρας, οἶμαι,
τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὑπεριδόντες.

XXVII

Τῇ δὲ ἐπιγενομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν μὲν Ἀρεοβίνδου
κεφαλὴν παρὰ τὸν Ἀντάλαν ὁ Γόνθαρις ἔπεμψε,
τὰ δὲ χρήματα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτὸν ἀπο-
2 στερεῖν ἔγνω. Ἀντάλας τοίνυν, ὅτι τέ οἱ τῶν
ξυγκειμένων οὐδὲν ἐπετέλει, δεινὰ ἐποιεῖτο, καὶ
τά τε ὀμωμοσμένα τά τε εἰργασμένα τῷ Γονθάριδι
3 ἐς τὸν Ἀρεόβινδον ἐννοῶν ἤσχαλλεν. οὐ γάρ οἱ
ἐδόκει ὁ τοιούτους ὅρκους ἠδικηκὼς οὔτε αὐτῷ
4 ποτε οὔτε ἄλλῳ ὁτῳοῦν πιστὸς ἔσεσθαι. πολλὰ
γοῦν ἐν αὑτῷ λογισάμενος Ἰουστινιανῷ βασιλεῖ
προσχωρεῖν ἤθελε· διὸ δὴ ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε.
5 γνούς τε Μαρκέντιον, ὃς τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ καταλό-
γων ἦρχεν, ἐς νῆσόν τινα τῶν ταύτῃ ἐπικειμένων
καταφυγεῖν, πέμψας παρ' αὐτὸν φράσας τε τὸν
πάντα λόγον καὶ τὰ πιστὰ δούς, τὸν ἄνθρωπον
6 ἐπηγάγετο. καὶ Μαρκέντιος μὲν ἔμενε ξὺν τῷ
Ἀντάλᾳ ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ, στρατιῶται δὲ ὅσοι
ἐν Βυζακίῳ διατριβὴν εἶχον, εὐνοϊκῶς βασιλεῖ
7 ἔχοντες, Ἀδραμητὸν πόλιν ἐφύλασσον. οἱ δὲ
τοῦ Στότζα στρατιῶται, οὐχ ἧσσους ἢ χίλιοι
ὄντες, αἰσθόμενοι τῶν ποιουμένων, Ἰωάννου
σφίσιν ἡγουμένου, παρὰ τὸν Γόνθαριν ἐχώρησαν
8 δρόμῳ· καὶ ὃς αὐτοὺς ἀσμένως τῇ πόλει ἐδέξατο.
ἦσαν δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν πεντακόσιοι, Οὖννοι δὲ
ὀγδοήκοντα μάλιστα, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ Βανδίλοι

words to them to move them to pity, they slew him. Athanasius, however, they spared, passing him by, I suppose, on account of his advanced age.

XXVII

And on the following day Gontharis sent the head of Areobindus to Antalas, but decided to deprive him of the money and of the soldiers. Antalas, therefore, was outraged, because he was not carrying out anything of what had been agreed with him, and at the same time, upon considering what Gontharis had sworn and what he had done to Areobindus, he was incensed. For it did not seem to him that one who had disregarded such oaths would ever be faithful either to him or to anyone else at all. So after considering the matter long with himself, he was desirous of submitting to the Emperor Justinian; for this reason, then, he marched back. And learning that Marcentius, who commanded the troops in Byzacium, had fled to one of the islands which lie off the coast, he sent to him, and telling him the whole story and giving pledges, persuaded him by kind words to come to him. And Marcentius remained with Antalas in the camp, while the soldiers who were on duty in Byzacium, being well disposed to the emperor, were guarding the city of Hadrumetum. But the soldiers of Stotzas, being not less than a thousand, perceiving what was being done, went in great haste, with John leading them, to Gontharis; and he gladly received them into the city. Now there were five hundred Romans and about eighty Huns, while all the rest

9 ἅπαντες. καὶ Ἀρταβάνης τὰ πιστὰ λαβὼν ἔς τε
τὸ Παλάτιον ξὺν τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις ἀνέβη καὶ τῷ
τυράννῳ ὑπηρετήσειν ἐπιτάσσοντι ὡμολόγησε.
10 λάθρα δὲ ἀνελεῖν τὸν Γόνθαριν ἐβουλεύετο, Γρη-
γορίῳ τε τῷ ἀνεψιῷ καὶ Ἀρτασίρῃ τῷ δορυφόρῳ
11 κοινολογησάμενος τὸ βούλευμα τοῦτο. Γρηγόριος
δὲ αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ἐνάγων ἔλεξε τοιάδε·

"Ἀρταβάνη, νῦν σοι πάρεστι μόνῳ[1] τὸ Βελι-
σαρίου ἀναδήσασθαι κλέος,[2] μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ
12 πολλῷ ἔτι ὑπερβαλέσθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ στρατιὰν
ἀξιολογωτάτην καὶ χρήματα μεγάλα παρὰ βασι-
λέως λαβὼν ἐνταῦθα ἥκεν, ἄρχοντας μὲν ἔχων
τούς οἱ ἑπομένους καὶ ξυμβούλους πολλούς,
στόλον δὲ νηῶν οἷον οὔπω ἡμεῖς ἀκοῇ ἴσμεν,
ἵππον τε πολλὴν καὶ ὅπλα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἁπλῶς
εἰπεῖν ἅπαντα ἐπαξίως οἱ παρεσκευασμένα τῆς
13 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. οὕτω τε πόνῳ πολλῷ ἀνεσώ-
14 σατο[3] Λιβύην Ῥωμαίοις. ἅπερ ἅπαντα οὕτως
ἀπόλωλεν ὥστε, εἰ μηδὲ ἀρχὴν ἐγεγόνει, ἐν γε τῷ
παρόντι ἐν ἴσῳ εἶναι· πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι ἀποκέκριται
Ῥωμαίοις τανῦν ἐκ τῆς Βελισαρίου νίκης τοῖς τε
σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ἐζημιῶσθαι, καὶ πρός
γε τὸ μηδὲ φυλάξαι τἀγαθὰ δυνατοῖς γεγονέναι.
15 τὸ δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἀνασώσασθαι τανῦν βασιλεῖ
ἐν τῇ σῇ μόνῃ ψυχῇ τε καὶ γνώμῃ καὶ δεξιᾷ
16 κεῖται. οὐκοῦν ἐκλογίζου μὲν ὡς εἶ Ἀρσακίδης
ἀνέκαθεν γένος, ἐνθυμοῦ δὲ ὡς τοῖς εὖ γεγονόσιν
ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι ἀεί τε καὶ πανταχῇ πρέπει.
17 πολλὰ γοῦν σοι ἔργα ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας θαυ-

[1] μόνῳ VP : πόνῳ O. [2] κλέος VP : κράτος O.
[3] ἀνεσώσατο V : διεσώσατο P, ἀνενεώσατο O.

were Vandals. And Artabanes, upon receiving pledges, went up to the palace with his Armenians, and promised to serve the tyrant according to his orders. But secretly he was purposing to destroy Gontharis, having previously communicated this purpose to Gregorius, his nephew, and to Artasires, his body-guard. And Gregorius, urging him on to the undertaking, spoke as follows:

"Artabanes, the opportunity is now at hand for you, and you alone, to win the glory of Belisarius—nay more, even to surpass that glory by far. For he came here, having received from the emperor a most formidable army and great sums of money, having officers accompanying him and advisers in great numbers, and a fleet of ships whose like we have never before heard tell of, and numerous cavalry, and arms, and everything else, to put it in a word, prepared for him in a manner worthy of the Roman empire. And thus equipped he won back Libya for the Romans with much toil. But all these achievements have so completely come to naught, that they are, at this moment, as if they had never been—except indeed, that there is at present left to the Romans from the victory of Belisarius the losses they have suffered in lives and in money, and, in addition, that they are no longer able even to guard the good things they won. But the winning back of all these things for the emperor now depends upon the courage and judgment and right hand of you alone. Therefore consider that you are of the house of the Arsacidae by ancient descent, and remember that it is seemly for men of noble birth to play the part of brave men always and in all places. Now many remarkable deeds have been performed by you in

μαστὰ πέπρακται. Ἀκάκιον γάρ, νέος ὢν ἔτι, τὸν Ἀρμενίων ἄρχοντα, καὶ Σίτταν τὸν Ῥωμαίων στρατηγὸν ἔκτεινας, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Χοσρόῃ βασιλεῖ γνώριμος γεγονὼς ξὺν αὐτῷ ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίους
18 ἐστράτευσας. ἐπεὶ δὲ τηλικόσδε εἶ, ὡς σὸν εἶναι μὴ περιορᾶν τὴν Ῥωμαίων ἀρχὴν ὑπὸ κυνὶ μεθύοντι κεῖσθαι, ἐνδείκνυσο ταννῦν ὡς εὐγενείᾳ τε καὶ ψυχῆς ἀρετῇ ἐκεῖνα, ὦ 'γαθέ, τὰ πρόσθεν εἰργάσω· ἐγὼ δέ σοι καὶ Ἀρτασίρης ὅδε ἅπαντα ἐπιτάττοντι ὅση δύναμις ὑπουργήσομεν."
19 Γρηγόριος μὲν τοσαῦτα εἶπεν· Ἀρταβάνου δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὸν τύραννον ἔτι μᾶλλον ὥρμησεν.
20 ὁ δὲ Γόνθαρις Ἀρεοβίνδου μὲν τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου ἐξαγαγὼν ἐπί τινος οἰκίας ἠνάγκασε μένειν, οὔτε τι ὑβρίσας λόγῳ ἢ ἔργῳ ὁτῳοῦν ἐς αὐτὰς οὔτε τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ κατὰ τὴν χρείαν ἐχούσας οὔτε τι ἄλλο βιασθείσας εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι, πλήν γε δὴ ὅτι γράψαι πρὸς τὸν θεῖον ἡ Πρεϊέκτα ἠνάγκαστο ὡς Γόνθαρις μὲν αὐτάς τε τιμῴη ἐς ἄγαν καὶ καθαρὸς εἴη παντάπασι τοῦ τἀνδρὸς φόνου, Οὐλιθέῳ δὲ τὸ κακὸν ἐργασθείη, Γονθάριδος
21 οὐδαμῇ ἐπαινοῦντος. ἔπρασσε δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Γόνθαρις Πασιφίλῳ ἀναπεισθείς, ἀνδρὶ γεγονότι μὲν τῶν ἐν Βυζακίῳ στασιωτῶν πρώτῳ, ξυναραμένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ μάλιστα ἐς τὴν τῆς τυραννίδος ἐπίθεσιν.
22 ἰσχυρίζετο γὰρ ὁ Πασίφιλος, ἢν ταῦτα ποιοίη, ξυνοικιεῖν τε αὐτῷ βασιλέα τὴν κόρην καὶ προῖκα

behalf of freedom. For when you were still young, you slew Acacius,[1] the ruler of the Armenians, and Sittas,[2] the general of the Romans, and as a result of this becoming known to the king Chosroes, you campaigned with him against the Romans. And since you have reached so great a station that it devolves upon you not to allow the Roman power to lie subject to a drunken dog, show at this time that it was by reason of noble birth and a valorous heart that at the former time, good sir, you performed those deeds; and I as well as Artasires here will assist you in everything, so far as we have the power, in accordance with your commands."

So spoke Gregorius; and he excited the mind of Artabanes still more against the tyrant. But Gontharis, bringing out the wife and the sister of Areobindus from the fortress, compelled them to remain at a certain house, showing them no insult by any word or deed whatsoever, nor did they have provisions in any less measure than they needed, nor were they compelled to say or to do anything except, indeed, that Prejecta was forced to write to her uncle[3] that Gontharis was honouring them exceedingly and that he was altogether guiltless of the murder of her husband, and that the base deed had been done by Ulitheus, Gontharis by no means approving. And Gontharis was persuaded to do this by Pasiphilus, a man who had been foremost among the mutineers in Byzacium, and had assisted Gontharis very greatly in his effort to establish the tyranny. For Pasiphilus maintained that, if he should do this, the emperor would marry the young woman to him, and in view of his kinship with her would

[1] Cf. Book II. iii. 25. [2] Cf. Book II. iii. 15. [3] Justinian.

κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπιδώσειν χρημάτων μεγάλων.
23 Ἀρταβάνην τε τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγεῖσθαι ἐπί τε
Ἀντάλαν καὶ Μαυρουσίους τοὺς ἐν Βυζακίῳ
24 ἐκέλευε. Κουτζίνας γάρ, ἅτε τῷ Ἀντάλᾳ προσ-
κεκρουκώς, ἀπέστη τε αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἐμφανοῦς καὶ
Γονθάριδι προσεχώρησεν· ᾧ δὴ τόν τε παῖδα καὶ
25 τὴν μητέρα ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ παρέσχετο. τὸ μὲν
οὖν στράτευμα ἡγουμένου Ἀρταβάνου εὐθὺς ἐπὶ
τὸν Ἀντάλαν ἐχώρει. ξυνῆν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ
Ἰωάννης, ὁ τῶν Στότζα στασιωτῶν ἄρχων, καὶ
Οὐλίθεος ὁ δορυφόρος· εἵποντο δὲ καὶ Μαυρούσιοι,
26 ὧν Κουτζίνας ἦρχε. πόλιν τε Ἀδραμητὸν δια-
μείψαντες καταλαμβάνουσι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐν-
ταῦθά πη ὄντας, καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενοι ὀλίγῳ
27 ἄποθεν τῶν πολεμίων ηὐλίσαντο. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ
Ἰωάννης μὲν καὶ Οὐλίθεος, μοῖράν τινα τοῦ
στρατοῦ ἔχοντες, αὐτοῦ ἔμειναν, Ἀρταβάνης δὲ
καὶ Κουτζίνας ἐπῆγον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐναντίους τὸ
28 στράτευμα. οὓς δὴ οὐ ξυνενεγκόντες[1] οἱ ξὺν τῷ
29 Ἀντάλᾳ Μαυρούσιοι ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμηντο. ἀλλ'
ἐθελοκακήσας Ἀρταβάνης ἐκ τοῦ αἰφνιδίου στρέ-
30 ψας τε τὸ σημεῖον ὀπίσω ἀπήλαυνε. διὸ δὴ
Οὐλίθεος αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἥκοντα κτείνειν
31 διενοεῖτο. παραιτούμενος δὲ Ἀρταβάνης ἔφασκε
δεῖσαι μὴ Μαρκέντιος ἐξ Ἀδραμητοῦ πόλεως
ἐπιβοηθήσας τοῖς ἐναντίοις, ὅπη ἐνταῦθα ἐτύγ-
32 χανεν ὤν, ἀνήκεστα σφᾶς ἔργα ἐργάσηται· ἀλλὰ
Γόνθαριν χρῆναι παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ ἐπὶ τοὺς
33 πολεμίους ἰέναι. καὶ τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἐβουλεύετο
ἐς Ἀδραμητὸν ἰὼν ξὺν τοῖς ἑπομένοις τῷ βασιλέως

[1] *οὐ ξυνενεγκόντες* MSS. : Haury would write *οὐκ ἐνεγκόντες*. Cf. Book II. xxv. 29.

give also a dowry of a large sum of money. And Gontharis commanded Artabanes to lead the army against Antalas and the Moors in Byzacium. For Coutzinas, having quarrelled with Antalas, had separated from him openly and allied himself with Gontharis; and he gave Gontharis his son and his mother as hostages. So the army, under the leadership of Artabanes, proceeded immediately against Antalas. And with Artabanes was John also, the commander of the mutineers of Stotzas, and Ulitheus, the body-guard of Gontharis; and there were Moors also following him, led by Coutzinas. And after passing by the city of Hadrumetum, they came upon their opponents somewhere near there, and making a camp a little apart from the enemy, they passed the night. And on the day after that John and Ulitheus, with a detachment of the army, remained there, while Artabanes and Coutzinas led their army against their opponents. And the Moors under Antalas did not withstand their attack and rushed off in flight. But Artabanes of a sudden wilfully played the coward, and turning his standard about marched off towards the rear. For this reason Ulitheus was purposing to kill him when he came into the camp. But Artabanes, by way of excusing himself, said he feared lest Marcentius, coming to assist the enemy from the city of Hadrumetum, where he then happened to be, would do his forces irreparable harm; but Gontharis, he said, ought to march against the enemy with the whole army. And at first he considered going to Hadrumetum with his followers

34 στρατῷ ἀναμίγνυσθαι. ἄμεινον δέ οἱ πολλὰ
διαλογισαμένῳ ἔδοξεν εἶναι Γόνθαριν ἐξ ἀνθρώ-
πων ἀφανίσαντι βασιλέα τε καὶ Λιβύην πραγ-
35 μάτων ἀπαλλάξαι δυσκόλων. ἀναστρέψας οὖν
ἐς Καρχηδόνα τῷ τυράννῳ ἀπήγγελλεν ὅτι δὴ
στρατεύματος αὐτῷ πλείονος ἐπὶ τοὺς πολε-
36 μίους δεήσει. ὁ δὲ Πασιφίλῳ κοινολογησάμενος
ἅπαντα μὲν ἐξοπλίσαι τὸν στρατὸν ἤθελεν, αὐτὸς
δὲ φυλακὴν ἐν Καρχηδόνι καταστησάμενος[1] ἐπὶ
37 τοὺς πολεμίους τῷ στρατῷ ἐξηγήσασθαι. πολ-
λοὺς μὲν οὖν ἐς ἡμέραν ἑκάστην ἀνῄρει ἐς οὓς
38 ὑποψίᾳ τινὶ καὶ λόγον οὐκ ἐχούσῃ ἐχρῆτο. τῷ
δὲ Πασιφίλῳ ἐπέστελλεν, ὃν δὴ καταστήσεσθαι
ἐπὶ Καρχηδόνος φυλακῇ ἔμελλε, τοὺς Γραικοὺς
ἅπαντας οὐδὲν ὑπολογισαμένῳ κτεῖναι.

XXVIII

Τά τε ἄλλα διοικησάμενος ὅπῃ οἱ ἐδόκει ὡς
ἄριστα ἔχειν, τοὺς ἐπιτηδείους ἑστιᾶν ἔγνω, ὡς
2 ἡμέρᾳ τῇ ἐπιούσῃ τὴν ἔξοδον ποιησόμενος. ἔν
τε οἰκήματι οὗ δὴ στιβάδες ἐν παρασκευῇ ἦσαν
3 ἐκ παλαιοῦ τρεῖς, τὴν θοίνην ἐποίει. αὐτὸς μὲν
οὖν ἐπὶ στιβάδος κατεκλίνετο, ὡς τὸ εἰκός, τῆς
πρώτης, ἔνθα δὴ καὶ Ἀθανάσιός τε καὶ Ἀρτα-
βάνης ἦσαν, τῶν τε Γουθάριδι γνωρίμων τινές,
καὶ Πέτρος Θρᾷξ μὲν γένος, δορυφόρος δὲ Σολό-
4 μωνος γενόμενος πρότερον. ἐν ἀμφοτέραις δὲ
ταῖς ἄλλαις στιβάσι Βανδίλων οἱ πρῶτοί τε καὶ
5 ἄριστοι ἦσαν. Ἰωάννην μέντοι, ὃς τῶν Στότζα
στασιωτῶν ἦρχε, Πασίφιλος ἰδίᾳ εἱστία, καὶ τῶν

[1] καταστησάμενος V : παραστησάμενος PO.

and uniting with the emperor's forces. But after long deliberation it seemed to him better to put Gontharis out of the world and thus free both the emperor and Libya from a difficult situation. Returning, accordingly, to Carthage, he reported to the tyrant that he would need a larger army to meet the enemy. And Gontharis, after conferring with Pasiphilus, consented, indeed, to equip his whole army, but purposed to place a guard in Carthage, and in person to lead the army against the enemy. Each day, therefore, he was destroying many men toward whom he felt any suspicion, even though groundless. And he gave orders to Pasiphilus, whom he was intending to appoint in charge of the garrison of Carthage, to kill all the Greeks[1] without any consideration.

XXVIII

And after arranging everything else in the very best way, as it seemed to him, Gontharis decided to entertain his friends at a banquet, with the intention of making his departure on the following day. And in a room where there were in readiness three couches which had been there from ancient times, he made the banquet. So he himself reclined, as was natural, upon the first couch, where were also Athanasius and Artabanes, and some of those known to Gontharis, and Peter, a Thracian by birth, who had previously been a body-guard of Solomon. And on both the other couches were the first and noblest of the Vandals. John, however, who commanded the mutineers of Stotzas, was entertained by Pasiphilus in

[1] A contemptuous term for "subjects of the emperor."

ἄλλων ἕκαστον,[1] ὅπῃ ἑκάστῳ τῶν Γουθάριδι ἐπι-
6 τηδείων φίλον[2] ἔδοξεν εἶναι. Ἀρταβάνης τοίνυν
ἡνίκα ἐπὶ ταύτην δὴ τὴν θοίνην ἐκαλεῖτο, τοῦτόν
οἱ τὸν καιρὸν ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν ἐς τὸν τοῦ τυράν-
νου φόνον οἰόμενος, τὸ βούλευμα ἐπιτελεῖν
7 διενοεῖτο. ἐς Γρηγόριον οὖν καὶ Ἀρτασίρην καὶ
δορυφόρους ἑτέρους τρεῖς τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξενεγκὼν
τοὺς μὲν δορυφόρους ξὺν τοῖς ξίφεσιν ἐκέλευσεν
εἴσω γενέσθαι· (ἀρχόντων γὰρ ἑστιωμένων ὄπι-
σθεν ἑστάναι τοὺς δορυφόρους νόμος) εἴσω δὲ
γενομένους ἐγχειρεῖν ἄφνω, ἡνίκα ἂν σφίσι δοκῇ
ὁ καιρὸς ὡς μάλιστα ἐπιτηδείως ἔχειν, πρῶτόν τε
8 τὸν Ἀρτασίρην ἔργου ἔχεσθαι. τῷ δὲ Γρηγορίῳ
ἐπέστελλε τῶν Ἀρμενίων πολλοὺς τοὺς μάλιστα
εὐτολμοτάτους ἀπολεξαμένῳ ἐς τὸ Παλάτιον
ἐπαγαγέσθαι, τὰ ξίφη μόνα ἐν χερσὶ φέροντας·[3]
(ἄλλῳ γὰρ οὐδενὶ τοὺς τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐν πόλει
ἑπομένους ὁπλίζεσθαι θέμις) τούτους τε ἐν τῷ
προστῴῳ ἀπολιπόντι εἴσω ξὺν τοῖς δορυφόροις
γενέσθαι, καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ μὲν βούλευμα μηδενὶ
ἐξειπεῖν, τοσοῦτον δὲ εἰπεῖν μόνον, ὡς ἐς τὸν
Γόνθαριν ὑπόπτως ἔχοι, ἐπὶ πονηρῷ τῷ Ἀρτα-
9 βάνους ἐς τὴν θοίνην αὐτὸν κεκληκέναι· βούλε-
σθαι τοίνυν ἑστάναι μὲν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοὺς
Γονθάριδος φύλακας οἵπερ ἐνταῦθα ἐπὶ φυλακῇ
ἐτετάχατο, τοῦ[4] δὲ παίζειν δόκησίν τινα παρεχο-
μένους τῶν μὲν ἀσπίδων ἅσπερ ἐκεῖνοι φέρουσιν
ἅπτεσθαι, πάλλοντας δὲ αὐτὰς καὶ ἄλλως κινοῦν-
τας ἄνω κάτω ἐς ἀεὶ στρέφειν· θορύβου δὲ ἢ
κραυγῆς ἐντὸς γενομένης ἀραμένους τὰς ἀσπίδας

[1] ἕκαστον V : ἕκαστος PO.
[2] Haury would prefer φίλος.
[3] φέροντας VP : ἔχοντας O.
[4] τοῦ Haury : τοὺς MSS.

his own house, and each of the other leaders wherever it suited the several friends of Gontharis to entertain them. Artabanes, accordingly, when he was bidden to this banquet, thinking that this occasion furnished him a suitable opportunity for the murder of the tyrant, was planning to carry out his purpose. He therefore disclosed the matter to Gregorius and to Artasires and three other body-guards, bidding the body-guards get inside the hall with their swords (for when commanders are entertained at a banquet it is customary for their body-guards to stand behind them), and after getting inside to make an attack suddenly, at whatever moment should seem to them most suitable; and Artasires was to strike the first blow. At the same time he directed Gregorius to pick out a large number of the most daring of the Armenians and bring them to the palace, carrying only their swords in their hands (for it is not lawful for the escort of officers in a city to be armed with anything else), and leaving these men in the vestibule, to come inside with the body-guards; and he was to tell the plan to no one of them, but to make only this explanation, that he was suspicious of Gontharis, fearing that he had called Artabanes to this banquet to do him harm, and therefore wished that they should stand beside the soldiers of Gontharis who had been stationed there on guard, and giving the appearance of indulging in some play, they were to take hold of the shields which these guards carried, and waving them about and otherwise moving them keep constantly turning them up and down; and if any tumult or shouting took place within, they were to take up these very shields and come to the rescue on the

10 αὐτὰς[1] βοηθεῖν δρόμῳ. Ἀρταβάνης μὲν ταῦτα ἐπήγγελλεν, ὁ δὲ Γρηγόριος ἐπιτελῆ ἐποίει. ὅ τε Ἀρτασίρης ἐπενόει τάδε· τῶν βελῶν τινα διελὼν δίχα τῷ καρπῷ τῆς εὐωνύμου χειρὸς ἐπέθετο κατὰ τὰς τομὰς[2] μέχρι ἐς τὸν ἀγκῶνα. ἱμᾶσί τε αὐτὰ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς σφίγξας ὕπερθε τὸ ταύτῃ τοῦ
11 χιτωνίσκου μέρος ἐπέβαλλεν. ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα, ὅπως, ἤν τις αὐτῷ τὸ ξίφος ἐπανατεινάμενος ἐγχειρῇ παίειν, μηδὲν αὐτῷ δεινὸν πεπονθέναι ξυμβαίη, προβεβλημένῳ μὲν τὴν λαιὰν χεῖρα, τοῦ δὲ σιδήρου ἀποκαυλιζομένου ἐν τῇ ἐς τὸ ξύλον ἐπιφορᾷ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἅψασθαι οὐδαμῇ ἔχοντος.

Τοιαύτῃ μὲν γνώμῃ Ἀρτασίρης, ὥσπερ μοι
12 ἐρρήθη, ἐποίει. τῷ δὲ Ἀρταβάνῃ ἔλεξεν ὧδε· "Ἐγὼ τὸ μὲν ἐγχείρημα ὀκνήσει οὐδεμιᾷ ὑποστήσεσθαι καὶ ξίφει τῷδε τοῦ Γονθάριδος σώματος ψαύσειν ἐλπίδα ἔχω, τὸ δὲ ἐνθένδε οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, πότερα ὁ θεὸς τῷ τυράννῳ χαλεπῶς ἔχων ξυγκατεργάσεταί μοι τὸ τόλμημα τοῦτο, ἤ τινα ἐμὴν ἁμαρτάδα τιννύμενος ἐνταῦθά τε ἀπαντήσας
13 ἐμπόδιος εἴη. ἢν τοίνυν οὐκ ἐν καιρίῳ πληγέντα τὸν τύραννον ἴδῃς, σὺ δή[3] με τῷ ξίφει τῷ ἐμῷ μηδέν τι μελλήσας ἀπόκτεινον, ὅπως μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ αἰκιζόμενος γνώμῃ τε τῇ σῇ ἐς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὡρμηκέναι εἰπὼν αἴσχιστά τε αὐτὸς διαφθαρείην καί σε προσαπολεῖν ἀναγκασθείην ἀκούσιος."
14 τοσαῦτα καὶ Ἀρτασίρης εἰπὼν ξύν τε Γρηγορίῳ καὶ τῶν δορυφόρων ἑνὶ παρὰ τὰς στιβάδας ἐλθὼν

[1] Haury would read αὐτούς.
[2] Haury proposes κατὰ μιάς, "one by one," for κατὰ τὰς τομάς.
[3] δή Hoeschel: δέ MSS.

run. Such were the orders which Artabanes gave, and Gregorius proceeded to put them into execution. And Artasires devised the following plan: he cut some arrows into two parts and placed them on the wrist of his left arm, the sections reaching to his elbow. And after binding them very carefully with straps, he laid over them the sleeve of his tunic. And he did this in order that, if anyone should raise his sword over him and attempt to strike him, he might avoid the chance of suffering serious injury; for he had only to thrust his left arm in front of him, and the steel would break off as it crashed upon the wood, and thus his body could not be reached at any point.

With such purpose, then, Artasires did as I have said. And to Artabanes he spoke as follows: "As for me, I have hopes that I shall prove equal to the undertaking and shall not hesitate, and also that I shall touch the body of Gontharis with this sword; but as for what will follow, I am unable to say whether God in His anger against the tyrant will co-operate with me in this daring deed, or whether, avenging some sin of mine, He will stand against me there and be an obstacle in my way. If, therefore, you see that the tyrant is not wounded in a vital spot, do you kill me with my sword without the least hesitation, so that I may not be tortured by him into saying that it was by your will that I rushed into the undertaking, and thus not only perish myself most shamefully, but also be compelled against my will to destroy you as well." And after Artasires had spoken such words he too, together with Gregorius and one of the body-guards, entered the room where the couches were and took his

ὄπισθεν Ἀρταβάνου ἑστήκει. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παρὰ
τοὺς φύλακας μένοντες τὰ σφίσιν ἐπηγγελμένα
ἐποίουν.
15 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀρτασίρης, ἀρξαμένης που τῆς
θοίνης, ἔργου ἔχεσθαι διενοεῖτο, ἤδη τε τῆς τοῦ
16 ἀκινάκου λαβῆς ἥπτετο. ἀλλ' αὐτὸν ὁ Γρηγόριος
διεκώλυσεν ἔτι τὸν Γόνθαριν ὅλον[1] εἰπὼν τῇ
Ἀρμενίων φωνῇ ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι, οὔπω ἐκπεπωκότα
17 τοῦ οἴνου τι μέγα. ἀνοιμώξας τοίνυν Ἀρτα-
σίρης, "Ὦ ἄνθρωπε," εἶπεν, "ὡς καλὴν ἔχοντά
με ψυχὴν οὐ δέον ἐν τῷ παρόντι κεκώλυκας."
18 προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ πότου, ἤδη που καταβεβρεγ-
μένος ὁ Γόνθαρις τοῖς δορυφόροις τῶν βρώσεων
19 ἐδίδου, φιλοτιμίᾳ τινὶ χρώμενος. οἳ δὴ ταύτας
λαβόντες ἐσθίειν ἤδη τοῦ οἰκήματος ἔξω γενόμενοι
ἔμελλον, μόνων ἀπολελειμμένων παρὰ τὸν Γόν-
θαριν δορυφόρων τριῶν, ὧνπερ Οὐλίθεος εἷς
20 ἐτύγχανεν ὤν. ἐξῄει δὲ καὶ Ἀρτασίρης, ὡς τῶν
21 βρώσεων ξὺν τοῖς ἑτέροις γευσόμενος. ἐνταῦθά
τις αὐτῷ γέγονεν ἔννοια μή τί οἱ σπάσασθαι
22 βουλομένῳ τὸν ἀκινάκην ἐμπόδιον εἴη. ἔξω
τοίνυν γενόμενος ἔρριψε μὲν λάθρα τοῦ ξίφους
τὴν θήκην, γυμνόν τε αὐτὸ ὑπὸ μάλης λαβὼν
πρὸς τῆς ἐπωμίδος κεκαλυμμένον παρὰ τὸν Γόν-
θαριν ἐσεπήδησεν, ὡς κρύφα τι τῶν ἄλλων ἐρῶν.
23 ὅπερ Ἀρταβάνης ἰδὼν τῷ τε θυμῷ ζέων καὶ τῇ
τῆς ἀγωνίας ὑπερβολῇ ἐς βαθεῖάν τινα ἐμπεσὼν
μέριμναν, κινεῖν τε τὴν κεφαλὴν ἤρξατο καὶ
πολλὰς ἀμείβειν τοῦ προσώπου χρόας, ἔνθους τέ
τις τῷ μεγέθει τῆς πράξεως γεγενῆσθαι παντελῶς
24 ἔδοξεν. ὅπερ ὁ Πέτρος ἰδὼν ξυνῆκε τὸ ποιούμε-

[1] ὅλον V: om. PO.

stand behind Artabanes. And the rest, remaining by the guards, did as they had been commanded.

So Artasires, when the banquet had only just begun, was purposing to set to work, and he was already touching the hilt of his sword. But Gregorius prevented him by saying in the Armenian tongue that Gontharis was still wholly himself, not having as yet drunk any great quantity of wine. Then Artasires groaned and said: "My good fellow, how fine a heart I have for the deed, and now you have for the moment wrongfully hindered me!" And as the drinking went on, Gontharis, who by now was thoroughly saturated with wine, began to give portions of the food to the body-guards, yielding to a generous mood. And they, upon receiving these portions, went outside the building immediately and were about to eat them, leaving beside Gontharis only three body-guards, one of whom happened to be Ulitheus. And Artasires also started to go out in order to taste the morsels with the rest. But just then a kind of fear came over him lest, when he should wish to draw his sword, something might prevent him. Accordingly, as soon as he got outside, he secretly threw away the sheath of the sword, and taking it naked under his arm, hidden by his cloak, he rushed in to Gontharis, as if to say something without the knowledge of the others. And Artabanes, seeing this, was in a fever of excitement, and became exceedingly anxious by reason of the surpassing magnitude of the issue at stake; he began to move his head, the colour of his countenance changed repeatedly, and he seemed to have become altogether like one inspired, on account of the greatness of the undertaking. And Peter, upon seeing

νον, οὐ μέντοι ἐξήνεγκεν ἐς τῶν ἄλλων τινά, ἐπεὶ
αὐτὸν βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντα λίαν ἤρεσκε τὰ
25 πρασσόμενα. τὸν δὲ Ἀρτασίρην, ἄγχιστά πῃ τοῦ
τυράννου ἐλθόντα, τῶν τις οἰκετῶν ὦσε, μικρόν
τε ὄπισθεν ἀποκεχωρηκότος κατενόησε τὸ ξίφος
γυμνὸν ἀνέκραγέ τε, "Τί τοῦτο, βέλτιστε";
26 λέγων. ὁ μὲν οὖν Γόνθαρις παρὰ τῶν ὤτων τὸ[1]
δεξιὸν τὴν χεῖρα ἐπιβαλὼν στρέψας τε τὸ πρόσ-
27 ωπον ἐς αὐτὸν ἔβλεπεν. Ἀρτασίρης δὲ αὐτὸν
τῷ ξίφει μεταξὺ ἔπαισε καὶ τοῦ βρέγματος
28 μοῖράν τινα ξὺν τοῖς δακτύλοις ἀπέκοψε. Πέτρος
δὲ ἀναβοήσας ἐνεκελεύετο τῷ Ἀρτασίρῃ τὸν
29 ἀνοσιώτατον κτείνειν ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων. ἀνα-
θρώσκοντα δὲ Γόνθαριν Ἀρταβάνης ἰδὼν (ἐγγύθι
γὰρ κατεκλίνετο) μάχαιραν ἀμφήκη σπασάμενος,
ἥ οἱ παρὰ τὸν μηρὸν ἀπεκρέματο μεγάλη τις
οὖσα, ἐς τὴν ἀριστερὰν τοῦ τυράννου πλευρὰν
ἄχρι ἐς τὴν λαβὴν ξύμπασαν ὤσας ἐνταῦθα
30 μεθῆκε. καὶ ὃς οὐδέν τι ἧσσον ἀναθορεῖν ἐπε-
χείρησεν, ἅτε δὲ καιρίαν λαβὼν αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν.
31 ὁ μὲν οὖν Οὐλίθεος τῷ Ἀρτασίρῃ τὸ ξίφος ὡς
κατὰ κόρρης κατάξων ἐπήνεγκεν· ὁ δὲ τῆς
κεφαλῆς χεῖρα τὴν ἀριστερὰν προβαλλόμενος
τῆς ἐννοίας τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις
32 ἀπώνατο. τοῦ ξίφους γάρ οἱ τὴν ἀκμὴν ἀπο-
θεμένου ἐν ταῖς ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς τῶν βελῶν
ἐκτομαῖς, αὐτὸς ἀπαθὴς γεγονὼς ἔκτεινε τὸν
33 Οὐλίθεον οὐδενὶ πόνῳ. Πέτρος δὲ καὶ Ἀρταβά-
νης, ὁ μὲν τὸ Γονθάριδος ξίφος, ὁ δὲ τὸ τοῦ
Οὐλιθέου πεπτωκότος ἁρπάσας, τῶν δορυφόρων
34 τοὺς λειπομένους αὐτοῦ ἔκτειναν. γέγονε τοίνυν,

[1] τῶν ὤτων τὸ V : τὸν νῶτον τὸν PO.

this, understood what was being done, but he did not disclose it to any of the others, because, being well disposed to the emperor, he was exceedingly pleased by what was going on. And Artasires, having come close to the tyrant, was pushed by one of the servants, and as he retreated a little to the rear, the servant observed that his sword was bared and cried out saying: "What is this, my excellent fellow?" And Gontharis, putting his hand to his right ear, and turning his face, looked at him. And Artasires struck him with his sword as he did so, and cut off a piece of his scalp together with his fingers. And Peter cried out and exhorted Artasires to kill the most unholy of all men. And Artabanes, seeing Gontharis leaping to his feet (for he reclined close to him), drew a two-edged dagger which hung by his thigh—a rather large one—and thrusting it into the tyrant's left side clean up to the hilt, left it there. And the tyrant none the less tried to leap up, but having received a mortal wound, he fell where he was. Ulitheus then brought his sword down upon Artasires as if to strike him over the head; but he held his left arm above his head, and thus profited by his own idea in the moment of greatest need. For since Ulitheus' sword had its edge turned when it struck the sections of arrows on his arm, he himself was unscathed, and he killed Ulitheus with no difficulty. And Peter and Artabanes, the one seizing the sword of Gontharis and the other that of Ulitheus who had fallen, killed on the spot those of the body-guards who remained.

ὡς τὸ εἰκός, κραυγῆς τε καὶ ταραχῆς μέγα τι
χρῆμα. αἰσθόμενοί τε ταύτης ὅσοι τῶν Ἀρ-
μενίων παρὰ τοὺς τοῦ τυράννου φύλακας ἵσταντο,
τὰς ἀσπίδας εὐθὺς ἀνελόμενοι κατὰ τὰ σφίσι
ξυγκείμενα ἐπὶ τὰς στιβάδας ἐχώρουν δρόμῳ,
καὶ τούς τε Βανδίλους ξύμπαντας τούς τε Γου-
θάριδι ἐπιτηδείους ἀνεῖλον, οὐδενὸς σφίσιν ἀντι-
στατοῦντος.
35 Τότε Ἀρταβάνης τὸν Ἀθανάσιον ἐμαρτύ-
ρατο ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν Παλατίῳ χρημά-
των· ὅσα γὰρ Ἀρεοβίνδῳ ἐλέλειπτο ἐνταῦθα
36 εἶναι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ φύλακες τὴν Γουθάριδος
τελευτὴν ἔμαθον, ξυνετάσσοντο τοῖς Ἀρμενίοις
αὐτίκα πολλοί· τῆς γὰρ Ἀρεοβίνδου οἰκίας οἱ
πλεῖστοι ἦσαν. ξυμφρονήσαντες τοίνυν Ἰου-
37 στινιανὸν ἀνεβόων καλλίνικον. ἥ τε φωνὴ
προϊοῦσα μὲν ἐκ πλήθους ἀνθρώπων, ἐξαισία δὲ
ὑπερφυῶς οὖσα ἐς πόλιν ἐξικνεῖσθαι τὴν πολλὴν
38 ἴσχυσεν. ἐνθένδε οἱ τῷ βασιλεῖ εὐνοϊκῶς ἔχοντες
ἐσπηδήσαντες ἐς τῶν στασιωτῶν τὰς οἰκίας τοὺς
μὲν ὕπνον αἱρουμένους, τοὺς δὲ σιτία, ἐνίους δὲ
θαμβήσαντάς τε τῷ δέει καὶ ἀπορίᾳ δεινῇ
39 ἐχομένους εὐθὺς ἔκτειναν. ἐν τοῖς καὶ Πασίφιλος
ἦν. Ἰωάννης γὰρ ξὺν Βανδίλων τισὶν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν
40 καταφεύγει. οἷς δὴ Ἀρταβάνης τὰ πιστὰ
παρασχόμενος ἔνθεν τε ἐξαναστήσας ἐς Βυζάντιον
ἔπεμψε καὶ τὴν πόλιν βασιλεῖ ἀνασωσάμενος
41 διεφύλαξε. γέγονε δὲ ὁ τοῦ τυράννου φόνος ἕκτῃ
καὶ τριακοστῇ ἀπὸ τῆς τυραννίδος ἡμέρᾳ, ἔνατον
καὶ δέκατον ἔτος Ἰουστινιανοῦ βασιλέως τὴν
αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχὴν ἔχοντος.
42 Ἀρταβάνης τε ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου τούτου κλέος

Thus there arose, as was natural, an exceedingly great tumult and confusion. And when this was perceived by those of the Armenians who were standing by the tyrant's guards, they immediately picked up the shields according to the plan which had been arranged with them, and went on the run to the banquet-room. And they slew all the Vandals and the friends of Gontharis, no one resisting.

Then Artabanes enjoined upon Athanasius to take charge of the money in the palace: for all that had been left by Areobindus was there. And when the guards learned of the death of Gontharis, straightway many arrayed themselves with the Armenians; for the most of them were of the household of Areobindus. With one accord, therefore, they proclaimed the Emperor Justinian triumphant. And the cry, coming forth from a multitude of men, and being, therefore, an exceedingly mighty sound, was strong enough to reach the greater part of the city. Wherefore those who were well-disposed to the emperor leaped into the houses of the mutineers and straightway killed them, some while enjoying sleep, others while taking food, and still others while they were awe-struck with fear and in terrible perplexity. And among these was Pasiphilus, but not John, for he with some of the Vandals fled to the sanctuary. To these Artabanes gave pledges, and making them rise from there, sent them to Byzantium, and having thus recovered the city for the emperor, he continued to guard it. And the murder of the tyrant took place on the thirty-sixth day of the tyranny, in the nineteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Justinian. 545–546 A.D.

And Artabanes won great fame for himself from

43 περιεβάλετο μέγα ἐς πάντας ἀνθρώπους. καὶ
Πρεϊέκτα μὲν εὐθὺς ἡ Ἀρεοβίνδου γυνὴ μεγάλοις
αὐτὸν ἐδωρήσατο χρήμασι, βασιλεὺς δὲ στρατη-
44 γὸν αὐτὸν κατεστήσατο Λιβύης ἁπάσης. οὐ
πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Ἀρταβάνης μὲν ἔχρῃζε βασι-
λέως ὅπως αὐτὸν ἐς Βυζάντιον μεταπέμποιτο,
45 βασιλεὺς δὲ τὴν δέησιν ἐπιτελῆ ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ
τὸν Ἀρταβάνην μεταπεμψάμενος, Ἰωάννην τὸν
Πάππου ἀδελφὸν Λιβύης στρατηγὸν μόνον αὐτὸν
46 κατεστήσατο. οὗτος Ἰωάννης ἐπεὶ τάχιστα ἐν
Λιβύῃ ἐγένετο, Ἀντάλᾳ τε καὶ Μαυρουσίοις τοῖς
ἐν Βυζακίῳ ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθὼν καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας
τῶν τε πολεμίων πολλοὺς ἔκτεινε καὶ σημεῖα
πάντα τὰ Σολόμωνος τούτους δὴ τοὺς βαρβάρους
ἀφελόμενος βασιλεῖ ἔπεμψεν, ἅπερ αὐτοὶ[1] λησά-
μενοι ἔτυχον ἡνίκα Σολόμων ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφάνι-
στο. τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ὡς ἀπωτάτω ἐξήλασε τῆς
47 Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς. χρόνῳ δὲ[2] ὕστερον οἱ Λευάθαι
αὖθις στρατῷ μεγάλῳ ἐκ τῶν ἐπὶ Τριπόλεως χω-
ρίων ἐς Βυζάκιον ἀφικόμενοι τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Ἀν-
48 τάλαν ξυνέμιξαν. οἷσπερ Ἰωάννης ὑπαντιάσας
ἡσσηθείς τε τῇ ξυμβολῇ καὶ πολλοὺς τῶν οἱ
49 ἑπομένων ἀποβαλὼν ἐς Λαρίβους φεύγει. καὶ
τότε δὴ οἱ πολέμιοι μέχρι ἐς Καρχηδόνα ξύμπαν-
τα καταθέοντες τὰ ἐκείνῃ χωρία ἀνήκεστα ἔργα
50 Λίβυας τοὺς παραπεπτωκότας εἰργάσαντο. οὐ
πολλῷ δὲ ὕστερον Ἰωάννης τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς
περιγενομένους ἀγείρας καὶ Μαυρουσίους ἄλλους
τε καὶ τοὺς ἀμφὶ Κουτζίναν ἐς ξυμμαχίαν ἐπαγ-
αγόμενος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐς χεῖρας ἦλθε καὶ
51 αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου ἐτρέψατο. Ῥωμαῖοί

[1] αὐτοὶ VO : αὐτοῦ P.
[2] δὲ VP : δὲ οὐ πολλῷ O.

this deed among all men. And straightway Prejecta, the wife of Areobindus, rewarded him with great sums of money, and the emperor appointed him general of all Libya. But not long after this Artabanes entreated the emperor to summon him to Byzantium, and the emperor fulfilled his request. And having summoned Artabanes, he appointed John, the brother of Pappus, sole general of Libya. And this John, immediately upon arriving in Libya, had an engagement with Antalas and the Moors in Byzacium, and conquering them in battle, slew many; and he wrested from these barbarians all the standards of Solomon, and sent them to the emperor—standards which they had previously secured as plunder, when Solomon had been taken from the world.[1] And the rest of the Moors he drove as far as possible from the Roman territory. But at a later time the Leuathae came again with a great army from the country about Tripolis to Byzacium, and united with the forces of Antalas. And when John went to meet this army, he was defeated in the engagement, and losing many of his men, fled to Laribus. And then indeed the enemy, overrunning the whole country there as far as Carthage, treated in a terrible manner those Libyans who fell in their way. But not long afterward John collected those of the soldiers who had survived, and drawing into alliance with him many Moors and especially those under Coutzinas, came to battle with the enemy and unexpectedly routed them. And the Romans, following them up

[1] See Book IV. xxi. 27.

τε αὐτοῖς φεύγουσι κόσμῳ οὐδενὶ ἐπισπόμενοι μοῖραν μὲν αὐτῶν πολλὴν ἔκτεινον, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ
52 ἐς τῆς Λιβύης τὰς ἐσχατιὰς διέφυγον. οὕτω τε Λιβύων τοῖς περιγενομένοις, ὀλίγοις τε καὶ λίαν πτωχοῖς οὖσιν, ὀψὲ καὶ μόλις ἡσυχίαν τινὰ ξυνηνέχθη γενέσθαι.

as they fled in complete disorder, slew a great part of them, while the rest escaped to the confines of Libya. Thus it came to pass that those of the Libyans who survived, few as they were in number and exceedingly poor, at last and after great toil found some peace.

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